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ABSTRACT

For most of this century Americans have gravitated toward cities. During the 1970s, however, nonmetropolitan areas grew at the expense of many large industrial centers, especially those in the Northeast and Midwest. This "rural renaissance" resulted from a combination of forces, including a growing demand for retirement and recreation spots, the entry of baby boomers into the labor force, and the economic situation at home and abroad. This settlement pattern was reversed in the 1980s. The heavy immigration of Asians and Hispanics in the 1980s has increased the proportion of these groups, particularly in metropolitan areas of the South and West. Another present day trend is the movement of Blacks to the suburbs. This publication includes definitions, tables, maps, rankings, a list of suggested readings, and eight discussion points for classroom use. (DM)

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POPULATION BULLETIN
Vol. 45, No. 2, July 1990

Metropolitan America: Beyond the Transition

By William H. Frey

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Abstract—Americans have always gravitated toward cities, and for most of this century, urban growth has continued at a fast pace. During the 1970s, however, nonmetropolitan areas grew at the expense of many large metropolitan areas, especially those in the industrial centers of the Northeast and Midwest. New patterns of population distribution appeared to be emerging. This *Bulletin* analyzes the trends of the 1970s, the so-called "transition decade," the shifting patterns of the 1980s, and likely prospects for future growth in metropolitan areas. The "rural renaissance" resulted from a combination of forces, including improved infrastructure in nonmetropolitan areas, growing demand for retirement and recreation spots, the entrance of the large baby-boom cohort into the labor force, and the economic situation both at home and abroad. Some of these same forces have shifted settlement patterns in the 1980s, helping create "World Cities," like New York and San Francisco, and regional "Command and Control Centers" such as Atlanta and Minneapolis-St. Paul, that will continue to gain in both population and influence. Yet nonmetropolitan areas still attract retirees and other former urbanites.

The distribution of minority groups among metropolitan populations is also undergoing significant change. The heavy immigration of Hispanics and Asians in the 1980s has increased the proportion of these groups, particularly in metropolitan areas in the South and West. More black Americans are moving to suburbs formerly dominated by whites. Yet large pockets of poverty—of both blacks and whites—remain in both suburban and central city areas.

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POPULATION BULLETIN
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N.Y. Convention & Visitors Bureau

Metropolitan America: Beyond the Transition

By William H. Frey

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In preparing this Bulletin, *the author has benefited from the suggestions of Alden Speare, Jr. of Brown University, Richard L. Forstall of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, and Glenn V. Fuguitt of the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Useful data and background materials were provided by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. At the University of Michigan, computer programming was performed by Cathy Sun and research assistance was rendered by Anne Croisier. The author also wishes to acknowledge the expert editorial assistance provided by Mary Kent and Bryant Robey of PRB.*

The concentration of America's population in large, expanding cities has been among the most powerful and long-standing of this nation's demographic trends. Throughout most of our history, cities have attracted larger populations than the countryside. The reasons are many. Since the early days of the nation, immigrants clustered in the central cities of large ports of entry. The decline of agriculture in favor of manufacturing and services—initiated by the Industrial Revolution—created a stream of migrants who left the countryside for urban areas. Big cities offered employment and the hope of a better life. Suburbs grew up around the cities to provide housing for the expanding work force and its families. By the middle of this century, the growth of metropolitan areas—central cities and their suburbs—was in full force.

Then during the 1970s, this long-standing trend toward population concentration suddenly appeared to reverse itself. Nonmetropolitan areas across much of the country started growing faster than metropolitan areas. So strong was this new trend that it gave rise to the term "rural renaissance." Several of the nation's largest metropolises actually lost population, while some parts of the rural South and West gained rapidly.

These developments represented a significant shift in historic population redistribution patterns. The 1970s were described by some observers as a "transition decade."[1] The fact that similar reversals were taking place in other developed nations lent credence to the view that fundamental changes were occurring in America.[2]

In the 1980s, nonmetropolitan America did not fare as well as in the 1970s, though population growth appeared to be reviving in some nonmetropolitan areas toward the end of the decade. While the 1980s also treated many small metropolitan areas in manufacturing

regions poorly, several large northern metropolitan areas made impressive comebacks, and their central cities stemmed the severe population declines of the 1970s. Many large metropolitan areas in the nation's heartland have yet to recover from the economic declines of the 1970s; other areas, particularly on the two coasts, have managed to transform their economies.

Asian immigrants contributed heavily to population growth in some large metropolitan areas in the 1980s, including Los Angeles and San Francisco. Mexican immigration also spurred growth in these areas and along our southern border. America's large and increasingly mobile elderly population has brought gains to many fast-growing metropolitan areas in Florida and other retirement magnets. Other metropolitan areas in the South and West are building on regional reputations to become national "Command and Control Centers."

New regional alliances are emerging out of current economic and demographic trends. Much heralded tensions between Snowbelt and Sunbelt, and between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas that arose in the 1970s are being replaced by new strains.

As the 1990s begin, population growth continues to be most robust along the nation's East and West Coasts. Their amenities and attractiveness to immigrants combine with national and international economic trends which favor areas that provide advanced services, "World Cities," and "Defense Perimeters."[3] Some of this growth has been at the expense of interior regions that once specialized in heavy industry, petroleum, and farming, but whose decline has challenged them to restructure their economies or face population losses.

This *Bulletin* examines recent population distribution trends, evaluating the experience of the 1980s against the stunning metropolitan and regional patterns of the previous decade. In doing so, it answers such questions as whether "rural renaissance" was only a short-term trend, whether northern metropolises will grow or decline in the future, and whether the South and West will continue to boom. The *Bulletin* also looks at such important trends as gentrification and the emergence of urban poverty zones.

Population redistribution affects many aspects of American life—political representation, taxing and spending, corporate investment, and even the fate of the nation itself. As metropolitan America moves "beyond the transition," what does the future hold in store?

U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development

New York, one of only six U.S. metropolitan areas with 1 million or more residents in 1910, is still the nation's largest, with 18.1 million residents in 1988.

Table 1. Number and Population of U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1910–1988

	1910	1930	1950	1970	1988
Number of metropolitan areas					
All areas	71	115	169	243	283
Areas with 1 million or more residents	6	10	14	33	37
Metropolitan area populations (millions)					
All areas	34.5	61.0	84.8	139.4	189.4
Areas with 1 million or more residents	16.5	31.7	44.9	80.6	120.4
Percent of U.S. population in metropolitan areas					
All areas	37.5	49.7	56.0	68.6	77.0
Areas with 1 million or more residents	17.5	25.8	29.6	39.6	49.0
Total U.S. population (millions)	92.0	122.8	151.3	203.2	245.8

Source: Bogue, Donald. *Population Growth in Standard Metropolitan Areas, 1900–1950* (Washington, D.C.: Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1953); U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1950 and 1970 Censuses of Population, and 1988 population estimates compiled by the Population Division.

The Fortunes of the Metropolis

The nation's largest cities and the territory around them, particularly on the East Coast, have grown continuously since the nation's early years. Much of the metropolitan growth in our first century reflected the steady flows of European immigrants to America. Toward the end of the 1800s, as America turned from farming to industry as the engine of its economic growth, large streams of rural migrants began to flow into cities throughout the country.

Metropolitan growth has remained strong throughout most of the 20th century (see Table 1). Between 1910 and 1988, while the national population grew by 167 percent, the metropolitan population grew by 449 percent, and metropolitan areas with at least 1 million residents grew by 630 percent. In contrast, the population in nonmetropolitan territory hovered within a narrow range (between 56 and 67 million) throughout this 78-year period.

The growth of areas with populations of 1 million or more has been an important aspect of metropolitan development. In 1910, only 6 areas, all in the Northeast or eastern Midwest (New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and St. Louis) had 1 million or more residents. By 1950, the number had reached 14, with all but 2 (Los Angeles and San Francisco) in the Northeast or Midwest. Since then, the number has almost tripled. This rapid growth is the result not only of population increase itself but also the "graduation" of smaller metropolitan areas into the million-plus category.

The very concept of the *metropolitan area* is the result of historic population trends. Standard metropolitan area definitions were used in the 1950 Census to reflect the steady and massive concentration of population in cities and their suburbs.[4] Beginning with the 1960 Census, these areas were labeled "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas" (SMSAs). Later, the expansion of some large metropolitan areas led to the concept of the "Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area" (CMSA), established by the federal government in 1983. At the same time, the government dropped the term "SMSA" in favor of "MSA," for

Box 1. Defining the Metropolitan Area

The most common type of metropolitan area consists of one or more central cities with a combined population exceeding 50,000, along with surrounding counties (or towns in New England) that are economically and socially linked to the center. This concept reflects, and is in part established by, commuting patterns from suburbs into an urban core.

The nation's total metropolitan population consists of the sum of all residents of the counties within each individual metropolitan area. The nonmetropolitan population consists of all residents of the remaining counties and towns.

The metropolitan area definitions used in this *Bulletin* are, for the most part, consistent with those issued by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) as of June 30, 1989, which evolved from the original definitions established for the 1950 Census. The current definition recognizes two different types of metropolitan areas: (1) Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs), which represent individual metropolitan area units; and (2) Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas (CMSAs), which represent large metropolitan complexes within which component areas have been defined. The 283 metropolitan areas examined in this *Bulletin* comprise 263 MSAs and 20 CMSAs.

MSA Definition: An area can qualify as an MSA in one of two ways: (1) if there exists a central city of at least 50,000 population, or (2) if the Census Bureau Urbanized Area surrounding the central city has a population of at least 50,000 and a total metropolitan population of at least 100,000 (or 75,000 in New England). Urbanized Areas are defined by the Census Bureau to include both the central city and its closely settled surrounding territory, both incorporated and unincorporated, determined on the basis of population and population density criteria. In addition to the county containing the main city, an MSA also includes additional counties that have strong economic and social ties to the central county, determined chiefly by the extent of the Urbanized Area's territory and by census data on commuting to work. New England MSAs are defined in terms of a core area and related town (rather than county) components. An MSA may contain more than one central city of at least 50,000 population and may cross state lines.

Alternative county-based metropolitan areas are defined for the six New England states. These New England County Metropolitan Areas (NECMAs) are sometimes substituted for MSAs.

CMSA and PMSA Definition: A CMSA is a large metropolitan complex, always with at least 1 million in population, within which component areas, known as Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas have been defined. A county or group of counties may qualify as a PMSA if: (1) local opinion supports separate recognition for a county or group of counties which demonstrate relative independence within the metropolitan complex, or (2) it had previously been recognized as a metropolitan area on January 1, 1980 and local opinion supports its continued recognition as such.

For further information about metropolitan definitions see Donald E. Starsinic and Richard Forstall, "Patterns of Metropolitan Area and County Population Growth: 1980 to 1987," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 1039. The January 3, 1980, *Federal Register* contains a detailed account of the current metropolitan criteria.

"Metropolitan Statistical Area" to denote the more typical metropolitan area unit (see Box 1 for current definitions of metropolitan area types).

The 37 metropolitan areas with more than 1 million residents in 1988 consist of 20 CMSAs and 17 MSAs. Approximately half of the national population lives in these major metropolitan areas, and almost a quarter lives in the country's 7 most populous metropolitan areas—the CMSAs of New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Boston.

The Metropolitan Turnaround

Until the 1970s, metropolitan areas held a strong population growth advantage over nonmetropolitan areas during every decade of this century except the 1930s. Metropolitan growth tapered off during the Depression years of the 1930s, following several decades of explosive expansion, then rocketed upward again after World War II. No deviation from the trend toward population concentration has been greater than in the 1970s, when nonmetropolitan and metropolitan growth patterns changed direction completely (see Box 2).

A second redistribution reversal in the 1970s was the slower rate of growth for major metropolitan areas over 1 million population. In the past, the nation's "million-plus" areas grew faster than smaller-sized areas. The reversal of this trend in the 1970s is as remarkable as the increased population growth in nonmetropolitan territory. This reversal is evident in Figure 1. In the 1960s, large metropolitan areas grew faster than smaller metropolitan areas, and much faster than nonmetropolitan areas. In the 1970s, the large areas grew at about half the rate of smaller metropolitan areas or nonmetropolitan areas, based on constant boundaries established June 30, 1989.

Box 2. Measuring Metropolitan Change

There has been some confusion about whether or not nonmetropolitan America actually grew faster than metropolitan America during the 1970s, because the share of the total population classified as metropolitan increased between 1970 and 1980 (from 68.6 percent to 74.8 percent).[1] This increase occurs when a "variable boundary" measure of metropolitan change is used, but not when a "constant boundary" measure is employed.[2]

The first measure compares the population in 1970 within the boundaries of metropolitan areas of the time with the population in 1980 within the metropolitan boundaries as defined in 1980 (including some territory that was classified as nonmetropolitan in 1970).

The constant boundary approach compares the populations for 1970 and 1980 using the same set of metropolitan boundaries. When using this latter approach, which confines the comparison to population change alone without adding the effects of new territory, the metropolitan growth rate was below the rate of population growth in nonmetropolitan areas.

References

1. An analysis of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan growth trends appears in Glenn V. Fuguitt, David L. Brown and Calvin L. Beale, *Rural and Small Town America*, 1980 Census Monograph (New York: Russell Sage, 1989).
2. Alternative strategies for analyzing metropolitan and nonmetropolitan growth using constant boundary measures are discussed in Glenn V. Fuguitt, Tim B. Heaton and Daniel T. Lichter, "Monitoring the Metropolitanization Process," *Demography*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (February 1988).

These shifts in the 1970s are signs of pervasive deconcentration of the national population. Approximately 80 percent of the nation's nonmetropolitan counties gained population in the 1970s, compared to less than 45 percent in the two prior decades. Extensive analyses by population experts Calvin Beale, Glenn Fuguitt, and Kerry Richter point out the dramatic change from net outmigration to net in-migration of the nonmetropolitan population for most of the 26 economic subregions of the United States.[5]

While the great majority of nonmetropolitan counties gained population, metropolitan population losses in the 1970s were concentrated among major metropolitan areas of the Northeast and Midwest. Eight metropolitan areas over 1 million population in the Northeast and Midwest lost population in the 1970s—New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, and Buffalo. Large metropolitan areas in the South and West did not decline, but their population gains were lower in the 1970s than in the 1960s. In contrast, small metropolitan areas, particularly those with populations under 250,000 located in the South and West, grew faster than all the other metropolitan categories.

Explaining the 1970s Reversals

These two redistribution reversals—the nonmetropolitan turnaround and the metropolis growth slowdown—were not spread uniformly across the 1970s. Researchers Larry Long and Diana DeAre demonstrated that the nonmetropolitan growth advantage began in the late 1960s and peaked in 1974–75, before tapering off at the end of the decade.[6] Census Bureau metropolitan area expert Richard Forstall's analysis shows that the reversal in growth rates among metropolitan areas according to their size peaked in 1973–75.[7]

Large metropolitan areas lost employment opportunities in the severe recession of 1973–75 and therefore, found it difficult to attract people, particularly in metropolitan areas where employment was dominated by cyclical industries. The decline in military expenditures toward the end of the Vietnam War contributed to employment losses in metropolitan areas with significant defense industries, among them Seattle, Los Angeles, and Boston.

The fact that both reversals became accentuated during the 1973–75 recession suggests at least one "period" influence that may have affected population redistribution in the 1970s (see Box 3, page 10, for analysis of three different explanations for the 1970s trends). Period explanations also help explain some of the population growth in nonmetropolitan areas.[8] A worldwide food shortage in 1972–73, coupled with an OPEC-induced oil shortage in 1973–74, led to an increase in demand for food and fuel-related commodities. Although employment in agriculture had already dropped to low levels in the 1960s, the rising price of food braked further decline in largely agricultural areas.

The energy crisis precipitated nonmetropolitan growth even more than the food shortage by spurring development of extractive industries in the Southwest, Mountain West, and Appalachia. Further, the weakened U.S. dollar during the early 1970s served to counter international competition for products of the labor-intensive manufacturing activities that had already moved to nonmetropolitan areas, where costs were lower.

Another important period stimulus for nonmetropolitan growth involved the large baby-boom generation reaching college age, which increased the enrollments at state universities and community colleges located in nonmetropolitan areas. The entry of baby boomers into the labor market during this period also accentuated the movement away from metropolitan areas with declining employment prospects. Finally, large numbers of people were entering their retirement years during this period, stim-

ulating demand for retirement homes in nonmetropolitan territory. These major events of the 1970s combined to reduce the attractiveness of large metropolitan areas and to stimulate population growth in nonmetropolitan areas.

While period effects surely played a role, the severe declines in population and employment suffered by several large metropolitan areas were even more the result of a fundamental restructuring of the economy. Mounting foreign competition, rising labor costs, growing obsolescence in our industrial infrastructure, and declining profitability combined to scale down manufacturing production, a trend that has been labeled *deindustrialization*. This economic adversity particularly affected metropolitan areas such as Pittsburgh and Buffalo, where heavy manufacturing constituted a key economic sector. These areas suffered substantial reductions in employment and selective outmigration. In some cases, lower-level production activities relocated to smaller metropolitan areas or to nonmetropolitan areas with low labor costs and more hospitable business climates. In other cases, these activities moved overseas or were eliminated entirely.

The 1970s also saw the emergence of social and economic conditions that permitted both employers and individuals to live in small communities, which surveys show most Americans prefer.[9] These new conditions form the basis of the deconcentration explanation of the 1970s reversals, as explained in Box 3. The groundwork for this deconcentration trend was laid in earlier decades, when infrastructure improvements (for example, all-weather road construction and rural electrification) facilitated the movement of some nonagricultural employment to smaller communities during the 1960s. Changes in production and communication technologies in the 1970s gave rise to new employment opportunities outside of metropolitan areas, which in turn brought to nonmetropolitan communities a growing number of amenities previously found primarily in the cities.

Strong population gains were registered both in nonmetropolitan counties adjacent to the suburbs of metropolitan areas—the exurbs—and in remote counties that lay beyond the reach of commuting, although the growth of the latter counties tapered off at the decade's end. The growth of nonmetropolitan counties specializing in resort and recreational activities also contributed to population deconcentration. The growth of resort and recreation counties continued undiminished into the 1980s, unlike the experience of many other nonmetropolitan counties, where growth began to sag toward the end of the decade.

Trends of the 1980s

In the 1980s, some of the forces that had brought about both the nonmetropolitan turnaround and the major metropolitan decline began to shift. The nonmetropolitan turnaround, in fact, disappeared from 1980 to 1984, when metropolitan areas grew at an annual rate of 1.2 percent compared to only 0.8 percent for nonmetropolitan areas. Only 70 percent of all nonmetropolitan counties gained population during this period, down from the pace of the 1970s.[10] Still, nonmetropolitan growth levels in the early 1980s continued to exceed their very low growth of the 1950s and 1960s, and the vast majority of nonmetropolitan counties were gaining in population.

But as mid-decade approached, population growth in nonmetropolitan counties plummeted to levels reminiscent of pre-1970 days. During 1983–86, only 45 percent of nonmetropolitan counties gained population. Although the average loss per county was not as large as in earlier decades, Calvin Beale points out, the incidence of this loss across counties was similar to that observed during the 1950s and 1960s, the peak years of farm consolidation.[11] While the rural renaissance appeared to come to a screeching halt in the mid-1980s,

Box 3. Theories Explaining the Metropolitan Transition

Three fundamentally different explanations have been offered to account for the metropolitan and regional reversals of the 1970s. Each has different implications for the future. The three can be characterized as: "period," "regional restructuring," and "deconcentration" explanations.[1]

"Period" explanations see the patterns of the 1970s as a temporary reversal, or distortion, of a long-term trend toward urbanization. In other words, the trends of the 1970s were unique. A convergence of economic and demographic circumstances caused population growth to slow or decline in metropolitan areas. The 1973–75 recession and subsequent economic dislocations led to disinvestment in manufacturing activities within large industrial metropolises. Meanwhile, smaller cities and towns gained from the development of extractive industries in response to the OPEC-induced energy crisis of 1973 and from the spread of low-paying manufacturing jobs related to the period's deindustrialization. A booming rural-based recreation industry, aided by a growing elderly population, added to the nonmetropolitan gains.

The "regional restructuring" explanation also acknowledges the economic dislocations of the 1970s, but views the decade's deindustrialization as an intermediate step toward a new geography of metropolitan growth. Proponents of this view believe that urbanization will continue as an important trend, but that metropolitan growth will occur in different geographic regions than in the past and for different reasons. The growing areas of the nation will be those that successfully redirect their economies toward advanced service delivery, high-tech research and development, and recreation and leisure-time activities. Metropolitan areas that cannot successfully make the transformation from industrial production to post-industrial services will continue to decline. Nonmetropolitan areas that are dependent on industrial production also will face reduced prospects for growth in the years ahead.

The "deconcentration" explanation views the 1970s as representing a fundamental break with the past. According to this view, Americans have long preferred to live in low-density, high-amenity residential locations. But in the past these preferences were constrained by the lack of available jobs and opportunities in these areas. During the 1970s, these barriers were lifted for many people. A rising standard of living and improvements in communications and production technologies meant that services, cultural amenities, and employment opportunities previously found only in large urban areas became more widely available. Deconcentration proponents also point to a rise in the "footloose" population, who can live wherever they choose. This explanation differs from the previous two in that it views the nonmetropolitan population gains of the 1970s as the beginning of a long-term shift away from urbanization.

These three explanations differ sharply in their implications for the future. The period explanation implies that traditional urbanization patterns will re-emerge once the forces of the 1970s "period effects" have subsided. The regional restructuring explanation anticipates a re-emergence of urbanization in those cities that are home to corporate headquarters, serve as advanced manufacturing sites, or are resort and recreation destinations. The deconcentration explanation suggests continued population dispersion away from metropolitan areas.

To illustrate the different impacts the two most extreme explanations would imply for the nation, alternative 50-year projections were constructed for two geographic categories—one category consists of metropolitan areas in the Northeast and Midwest with populations greater than 1 million, and the other category consists of nonmetropolitan counties in the South and West.[2] Each alternative projection starts with the actual 1980 populations. One projection assumes that the trends of the 1960s will return and continue for 50 years. This is consistent with the "period" explanation. The other projection assumes that the 1970s redistribution patterns will continue, consistent with the "deconcentration" explanation.

These projections yield dramatically different results. If we were to return to the 1960s trends, the nation's population would be much more centered in large northern metropolitan areas. By 2030, projected northern metropolis population would be almost twice the South and West nonmetropolitan population. However, if the 1970s trends were to continue, the northern metropolis population would decline steadily, while southern and western nonmetropolitan areas would gain population rapidly. The two areas would have nearly the same number of people by 2030. Neither of these extreme projections is likely to occur, of course, nor are they intended to be predictions. They simply point out the dramatic consequences of long-term population shifts.

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1. Frey, William H. "Migration and Depopulation of the Metropolis: Regional Restructuring or Rural Renaissance?," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 52 (April 1987) pp. 240–257.
2. Ibid., pp. 245–246.

population estimates for the late 1980s show a moderation of nonmetropolitan declines that is fairly pervasive." The adverse economic "period effects" on nonmetropolitan growth (discussed below) may have subsided.

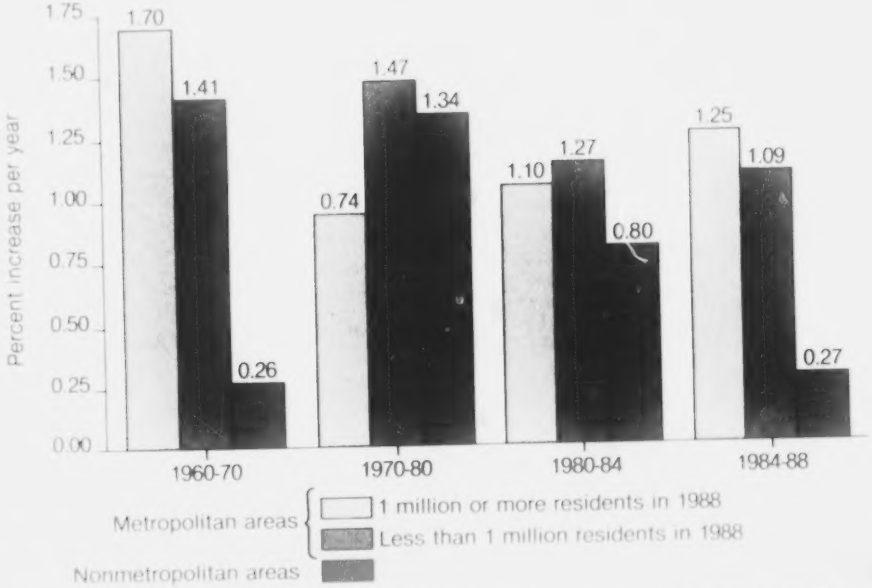
As to the fate of major metropolitan areas in the 1980s, they showed clear signs of reviving from their dismal 1970s growth performance. Statistics for 1980–84 and 1984–88 show population gains for the nation's "million-plus" metropolitan areas exceeding the gains of nonmetropolitan areas (see Figure 1, page 12). Average annual percent changes for these areas rose from 1.1 percent in 1980–84 to 1.25 percent in 1984–88. These are significant increases over the growth rate of the 1970s, but are far below the rate of the 1960s.

In three large metropolitan areas—New York, Philadelphia, and St. Louis—sizable population declines of the 1970s ended and growth reappeared, boosting the national totals for the "million-plus" metropolitan category. These three areas as a whole lost 780,000 residents during the 1970s but gained 945,000 between 1980 and 1988. However, four other large metropolitan areas with sizable 1970s population declines (Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Buffalo) continued to lose population in the 1980s, in some cases to a greater degree than in the 1970s. As a group, these areas lost 444,000 people in 1970–80, and 404,000 people in 1980–88.

The vast majority of large metropolitan areas grew during both decades. Some, such as Phoenix, San Diego, and Tampa-St. Petersburg, have been growing at consistently high rates, a trend discussed later. On balance, the shifting fortunes of the large northern metropolitan areas have provided a major share of the fluctuations in the nation's metropolitan trends as a whole.

Metropolitan areas below 1 million in population grew more slowly during the 1980s than during the 1960s or 1970s. Although national trends mask wide vari-

Figure 1. Average Annual Population Growth for Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Areas, 1960–1988



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960, 1970, and 1980 Population Censuses, and post-censal county estimates compiled by the Population Division.

ations across individual areas and regions, the slowdown of growth in smaller metropolitan areas has become pervasive. Areas with less than 250,000 residents were among the fastest growing during the 1970–80 period, but their growth declined by about one-third during the 1980s. Moreover, 32 of the 158 metropolitan areas of this size lost population in the 1980s, compared to only 10 in the 1970s.

Explaining the 1980s Shifts

Some analysts contended that the strong period influences of the 1970s distorted "natural" urbanization tendencies and predicted that these tendencies would re-emerge. But their predictions neglected to consider equally significant period influences specific to the 1980s: two severe recessions, an overvalued dollar, a worldwide decline in food prices, a decline in oil prices, and a stock market crash. On balance, the cumulative impact of these forces had greater adverse consequences for nonmetropolitan population growth than for metropolitan growth.

Calvin Beale's analysis of nonmetropolitan growth trends suggests why this might be the case.[1] First, nonmetropolitan areas specializing in labor-intensive manufacturing production were particularly hard hit by the recessions and overvalued dollar of the early 1980s. In 1980, these counties housed approximately 40 percent of the nonmetropolitan popula-

tion. Their average annual population growth rates declined from 1.14 percent in the 1970s to only 0.36 percent over the 1980–86 period.

Second, the world agricultural surplus and the ensuing domestic farm financial crisis led to a decline in nonmetropolitan counties that specialized in agriculture. These counties, which stemmed long-term declines during the 1970s, housed approximately 15 percent of the country's nonmetropolitan population in 1980. Their response to the farm crisis was delayed but severe. Average annual growth rates dropped from 0.56 percent in the early 1980s to a *minus* 0.08 percent in the mid-1980s. In Iowa, 80 of 84 such counties lost population as the agricultural crisis took its toll.

The dramatic rise and then sharp decline in petroleum prices contributed to the most volatile sequence of growth and decline. Counties specializing in mining (oil, coal, and metal), which contained just 7 percent of the 1980 nonmetropolitan population, saw their growth turn from an annual average rate of 0.14 percent in the first three years of the 1980s to a decline of minus 0.58 percent in 1983–86.

As was true of their nonmetropolitan counterparts, production-oriented metropolitan areas declined in population during the early 1980s, but showed a greater capacity to rebound as the recession subsided and the value of the dollar declined. The petroleum price roller coaster took metropolitan areas both large and small for a wild ride. Some were forced to diversify their economic base in order to survive. Toward the end of the decade, areas with major involvement in defense faced the possibility of cutbacks in federal financial support. The stock market crash in October 1987, and the ensuing drop in the financial services industry led to ripples of decline in the New York metropolitan area.

A more dominant influence on metropolitan growth in the 1980s was industrial restructuring. The heavy losses of jobs and population sustained as a result of deindustrialization in the 1970s were replaced, in some cases, by employment and population growth associated with more diversified local economies. Some areas, such as New York and Boston, were well-positioned to build on their strengths in financial services or high-tech development.[13] Yet for other areas, of which Detroit is the major example, decline related to deindustrialization was felt the most in the early 1980s. Located largely in the Midwest, these areas were centers for durable goods manufacturing such as primary metals, motor vehicles, rubber, and non-electrical machinery.[14]

Smaller metropolitan areas that were dependent on old-line manufacturing production were hit hard as well and faced employment and population declines. As much of this decline is structural rather than cyclical, these areas will need to diversify their economies to sustain growth in the future.

While the period economic forces of

A willingness to commute long distances has favored growth in exurban counties.

the 1980s were not particulary kind to nonmetropolitan America, there was evidence of a continued rural renaissance in selected communities. The fastest growing nonmetropolitan areas of the 1980s were in counties specializing in resort and recreation. In second place, after 1983, were exurban counties adjacent to the suburbs of large metropolitan areas and with strong commuting ties to the metropolis.

The ability of these exurban counties to withstand major economic shocks since the beginning of the 1970s and to be relatively strong population gainers indicates the power of Americans' preferences for living in low-density, high-amenity areas—even if it means commuting increasingly long distances to work. Some of these exurban counties are likely to become part of the adjacent metropolis when metropolitan area revisions are made after the 1990 Census.

The Regional Dimension

Even prior to the 20th century, the North has been the nation's most heavily urbanized region.[1] Many of the North's metropolitan areas began as trade and commercial centers in the early days of the nation. During this century, northern metropolitan areas grew because their location and large labor force gave them an advantage for manufacturing activities. In 1950, the North (defined in this *Bulletin* as a combination of the Northeast and Midwest regions) had more than two-thirds of the nation's manufacturing jobs, contained 10 of the country's 14 million-plus metropolitan areas, and was home to 65 percent of the total metropolitan population. Even today, the North contains fully 52 percent of the population living in all million-plus metropolitan areas, and 47

Figure 2. Metropolitan Areas by Region, United States, 1988

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census; see Appendix Table.

Table 2. Average Annual Population Change for Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Areas within U.S. Regions: 1960–70, 1970–80, and 1980–88

Region area	Average annual population change (percent)		
	1960–70	1970–80	1980–88
North			
Large metropolitan areas*	+1.1	0.1	+0.4
Other metropolitan areas	+1.1	+0.5	+0.4
Nonmetropolitan areas	+0.3	+0.8	+0.1
South			
Large metropolitan areas*	+2.8	+2.1	+2.1
Other metropolitan areas	+1.5	+2.0	+1.6
Nonmetropolitan areas	+0.1	+1.5	−0.7
West			
Large metropolitan areas*	+2.6	+1.8	+2.2
Other metropolitan areas	+2.2	+2.8	+2.0
Nonmetropolitan areas	+0.9	+2.7	+1.4

*Metropolitan areas with 1 million or more residents in 1988.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960, 1970, and 1980 Population Censuses; and county population estimates compiled by the Population Division.

percent of the total metropolitan population (see Figure 2).

Metropolitan areas in the South and West grew as the result of the continued westward expansion that has characterized American history. Even so, by 1950, only 2 western metropolitan areas, Los Angeles and San Francisco, and 2 southern areas, Baltimore and Washington, D.C., were among the nation's 14 "million-plus" metropolitan areas. But metropolitan populations in the South and West were about to surge. By 1988, the number of southern and western "million-plus" metropolitan areas rose to 20, compared to 17 in the North.

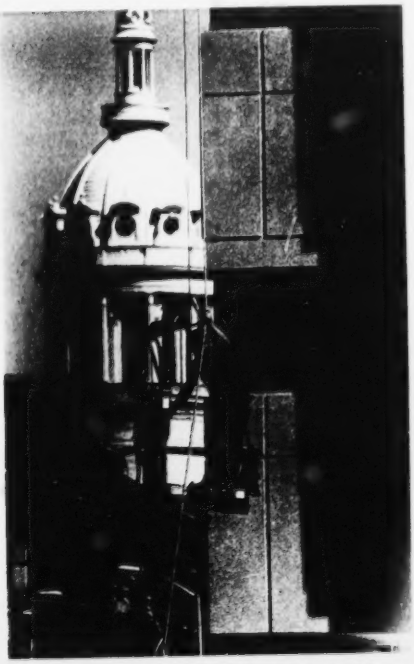
Despite their different growth patterns, each of the nation's regions shared the urbanization patterns of the 1950s and 1960s and the counter-urbanization of the 1970s (see Table 2). Historically, within each region metropolitan areas grew significantly faster than nonmetropolitan areas. Building on traditional manufacturing strengths, the North's metropolitan areas continued to grow in the postwar economic prosperity, and their suburbs expanded. Western metropolitan areas grew at considerably faster rates as the boom in such "home-grown" industries as aerospace and electronics attracted new residents. Southern metropolitan areas gained, particularly in the 1960s, as this once lagging region became better linked to the national economy through the interstate highway system, improved infrastructure and educational systems, and pro-growth business attitudes.

The Surprises of the 1970s

In the 1970s—in contrast to the 1960s—all regions saw declines in growth in their "million-plus" metropolitan areas and gains in population growth in nonmetropolitan territory. Yet the North bore the brunt of the metropolitan population decline, and the South and West benefitted most from the nonmetropolitan population increase. While actual population losses were concentrated in a few large areas, all "million-plus" northern areas either suffered losses or had smaller population gains in the 1970s than in the 1960s.

Even in the rapidly growing South and West, "million-plus" metropolitan areas

faced reduced growth in the 1970s. There were a few exceptions where major metropolitan areas enjoyed economies that were strongly linked to tourism and retirement growth (Tampa-St. Petersburg and Phoenix) to the period's oil boom (Houston), and to specialized industries such as defense-related manufacturing (San Diego, which also offered an attractive lifestyle). But for the most part, the "million-plus" areas of the South and West faced diminished growth. There were many reasons, including the economic attractions of small metropolitan areas and nonmetropolitan places within these regions, which drew migrants from the largest metros. Most large Sunbelt metropolitan areas had a net loss of migrants in their exchanges with smaller and nonmetropolitan areas within the region.[17]



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Southern metropolitan areas have grown as a result of stronger links to the national economy

National nonmetropolitan gains in the 1970s reflect the experiences of the South and West. The continuing relocation of manufacturing activities into the Southeast, the growth of extractive industries in the Southwest and Mountain West, and the recreation-related growth in Florida and other Sunbelt areas all contributed to this pattern. To a lesser extent, northern nonmetropolitan areas outside the great plains also gained population from these trends during the 1970s, especially in the Upper Great Lakes states and New England.

The national population flows of the 1970s contributed heavily to a regional population redistribution—out of the North and into the South and West. These trends gave rise to the popular notion of a Snowbelt and a Sunbelt. Although these terms did not fully explain the dynamics of population distribution in the 1970s—after all, snowy Alaska and New Hampshire were growing rapidly, while sunny Los Angeles was not—they effectively captured the frustration of major northern industrial cities and the good times down South and out West.

The 1980s' Bi-Coastal Boom

In the 1980s, metropolitan growth increased most rapidly in areas near the Pacific or Atlantic coasts, while nonmetropolitan population declines became increasingly concentrated within the nation's interior. To be sure, the familiar regional dichotomy between the slow-growing North on the one hand and the rapidly growing South and West on the other (the Snowbelt versus the Sunbelt) remains useful in explaining overall population redistribution trends. But it is less useful in explaining the recent changes in population growth than a new dichotomy that distinguishes the nation's coastal areas from its interior territory.

This new scheme links an Atlantic Coast region (the states that border on the Atlantic) with a Pacific Coast region

(Alaska, California, Hawaii, Oregon, and Washington). It contrasts these regions with an interior region that includes the states of the Midwest, Rocky Mountains, and most of the South. Although the states bordering on the Gulf of Mexico are on a coast and, therefore, not "interior," they share many of the current demographic characteristics of America's heartland.

Large metropolitan areas on both coasts are increasing their population gains, while the interior, or heartland, metropolitan territory shows sharply reduced growth. In the Atlantic coastal states all types of territory, including nonmetropolitan areas, have been gaining population since the mid-1980s. Metropolitan areas have been increasing fastest, and the largest metropolitan areas on both coasts showed the most sustained pattern of increase during the decade of the 1980s.

The most characteristic pattern of the nation's heartland in the 1980s is its nonmetropolitan decline. This trend became accentuated in mid-decade as the interior states bore the brunt of the manufacturing, agricultural, and energy-extraction downturns, or the rolling recession. The large metropolitan areas in the nation's heartland also showed more sensitivity to various booms and busts during the 1980s than did coastal areas.

Prospects for the 1990s

The prospect is fairly bright for continued growth among the East and West Coast metropolitan areas. These areas, located in what has been called "the trade and defense perimeter," have developed niches as centers of advanced service and manufacturing industries that are highly competitive in the international marketplace.[18]

Nor are the prospects for the nonmetropolitan heartland as dim as they might appear from their experience in the 1980s. Still, many of the interior areas will need to develop more diversified economic bases to insulate them from the ups and downs of worldwide commodity prices.[19] And coastal cities that are too heavily concentrated in defense-related areas may need to find other strengths if the federal government cuts back on national defense.

The biggest uncertainties for the 1990s concern the growth prospects for heartland metropolitan areas whose economies remain tied to specialized, less-than-competitive industries. Economic diversification will be necessary, and there is evidence that this is occurring in Detroit, Cleveland, and Houston. Also, high housing prices and labor costs could brake the continued growth of the East and West Coast metropolitan centers. Citing the nation's bi-coastal "regional gentrification," R.D. Norton speculates that escalating living costs in large coastal areas and labor shortages elsewhere may push residents and jobs further inland.[20] (For a discussion of the demographic factors in regional population shifts see Box 4, page 20.)

The Top 20 Metropolitan Areas

The nation's top 20 metropolitan areas contain about half of the total population of the United States. An examination of how these areas are faring provides clues about the forces likely to shape metropolitan growth or decline as a whole in the 1990s. Some have fared much better than others.

The 20 largest metropolitan areas all have 1988 populations over 2 million, but they are dominated by New York's 18.1 million people and Los Angeles' 13.7 million (see Table 3). The combined populations of the largest 5 areas on this list exceed the combined populations of the remaining 15 by a wide margin.

The top rankings have remained surprisingly stable over the course of U.S. history. New York has been the nation's largest metropolitan area since the beginning of the 19th century. Philadel-

Table 3. The 20 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 1988

Metropolitan Area	Size (millions)	Rank 1988	Rank 1970	Change
New York CMSA	18.1	1	1	—
Los Angeles CMSA	13.7	2	2	—
Chicago CMSA	8.1	3	3	—
San Francisco CMSA	6.0	4	6	+2
Philadelphia CMSA	5.9	5	4	-1
Detroit CMSA	4.6	6	5	-1
Boston CMSA	4.1	7	7	—
Dallas CMSA	3.7	8	12	+4
Washington, D.C. MSA	3.7	9	8	-1
Houston CMSA	3.6	10	13	+3
Miami CMSA	3.0	11	16	+5
Cleveland CMSA	2.7	12	9	-3
Atlanta MSA	2.7	13	18	+5
St. Louis MSA	2.4	14	11	-3
Seattle CMSA	2.4	15	17	+2
Minneapolis-St. Paul MSA	2.3	16	15	-1
San Diego MSA	2.3	17	22	+5
Baltimore MSA	2.3	18	14	-4
Pittsburgh CMSA	2.2	19	10	-9
Phoenix MSA	2.0	20	34	+14

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1970 Population Census and county estimates for 1988 prepared by the Population Division.

phia and Boston have ranked close to the top from the beginning of nationhood, and Chicago for the past century. The seven largest metropolitan areas in 1988 were also the seven largest in 1950. However, since 1970, San Francisco moved to fourth place, pushing Philadelphia and Detroit down to fifth and sixth.

This stability among the top 7 masks the turmoil in the lower rankings. Among the 13 other areas in the top 20, Cincinnati and Milwaukee have fallen out of the group since 1970 (using constant boundaries) and have been replaced by San Diego and Phoenix. Seven of the 13 (including the 2 new ones) moved up in rank. Miami-Fort Lauderdale climbed from 16th to 11th, Atlanta advanced from 18th to 13th, and Dallas-Fort Worth rose from 12th to 8th. Phoenix jumped an astonishing 14 places, from 34th to 20th. San Diego moved up 5 places, from 22nd to 17th. Among the decliners, Pittsburgh plunged from 10th to 19th, Baltimore dropped from 14th to 18th, Cleveland from 9th to 12th, and St. Louis from 11th to 14th place.

The net effect of these recent rapid changes in rank among the second echelon of major metropolitan areas, whose populations are between 2 and 4 million, has been to elevate the importance of metropolitan areas in the West and South and reduce the influence of the slower growing older northern areas.

The Forces Behind Growth and Decline

The simple Sunbelt-Snowbelt distinction does not tell the whole story of the past two decade's fortunes for major metropolitan areas. It is true that with only three exceptions (Minneapolis-St. Paul in the North, and Baltimore and Washington, D.C. in the South), each of the large northern Snowbelt metropolitan areas grew more slowly than each of the large southern and western Sunbelt areas in both the 1970s and the 1980s. But other patterns are also important (see Figure 3).

Deindustrialization largely explains

the population declines of major northern metropolitan areas in the 1970s. Areas associated with heavy industry manufacturing (Pittsburgh and Cleveland) were the greatest population losers, as measured by the annual average rate of change. Areas with more diversification, but also with large manufacturing components (New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis) sustained losses as well. Detroit did poorly in the 1970s (and declined even more in the 1980s than in the 1970s, because its auto industry was hit harder by the recession and foreign competition). Two other "diversified" northern areas, Chicago and Boston, did somewhat better in the 1970s.

Within the South and West, older, more established areas grew less rapidly than the average for these regions in the 1970s. Baltimore and Washington in the South, and San Francisco, Seattle, and Los Angeles in the West, all grew less than 1.5 percent per year, versus growth rates for the other large Sunbelt areas of between 2.2 percent (Dallas-Fort Worth) and 4.4 percent (Phoenix). In other words, it was not enough simply to be located in the Sunbelt for robust growth to occur, nor did a Snowbelt location necessarily portend demographic doom.

The declines from deindustrialization in most large northern metropolitan areas and in older southern and western areas contrasted with the strong growth among selected sun-and-fun destinations such as Phoenix or booming industrial places such as Houston in the 1970s. This distinction broke down in the 1980s, however, as northern areas, though slow-growing, varied more sharply from each other in their population growth rates. In the South and West, moreover, the differences apparent in the 1970s became less striking in the 1980s, as older, established areas rebounded, while younger "sun spots" grew less rapidly.

These shifts in the fortunes of individual large metropolises are consistent with the bi-coastal growth patterns

Figure 3. Average Annual Change for the 20 Largest Metropolises, 1970–1980 and 1980–1988

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 and 1980 Population Censuses, and post-censal county estimates compiled by the Population Division.

Box 4. The Demography of Population Growth and Decline

An area's population growth reflects the net effect of migration, births, and deaths. People who move tend to be younger than those who do not move. As a result, fast-growing areas typically have higher fertility and lower mortality than areas with sustained out-migration. When an area gains population from migration, then, its population gains from natural increase (births minus deaths) are also greater. This trend was generally the case for the United States in the 1980–87 period.

Across regions, net migration distributed the population out of the North and into the South and West in the 1980s. Within regions, net migration redistributed the population toward metropolitan areas. The natural increase component of population growth for the most part amplifies these net migration patterns. Significantly lower levels of natural increase occur in the North than in the South and West. And, within the North and South regions, though not true in the West, natural increase is lower for nonmetropolitan than for metropolitan areas.

Net migration itself consists of both interstate migration and international migration (immigration). The latter has historically had its greatest effect on the large East Coast metropolitan ports of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. However, as America attracted greater numbers of immigrants from Latin America and Asia, the large metropolitan areas on the West Coast and in the Southwest and Florida became immigrant magnets as well. Data compiled for the 1975–80 period show that immigration accounted for three quarters of the total net migration gains in the large metropolitan areas of the West, about half the net migration gains in large southern metropolitan areas, and considerably reduced the population losses of large northern metropolitan areas.[1]

Immigration has a significant effect on population growth in several individual metropolitan areas (see table). In 1988, the New York and Los Angeles

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After two decades of population decline, Detroit will need to diversify its economy to attract new residents.

Metropolitan Areas with the Greatest Immigration, 1988[a]

Areas with largest numbers of immigrants		Areas with highest rates of immigration	
Metropolitan Area	Number	Metropolitan Area	Rate[b]
1. New York, NY-NJ-CT CMSA	134,556	Miami, FL CMSA	1.45
2. Los Angeles, CA CMSA	110,450	Naples, FL MSA	0.88
3. Miami, FL CMSA	43,600	West Palm Beach, FL MSA	0.81
4. San Francisco, CA CMSA	41,586	Los Angeles, CA CMSA	0.80
5. Chicago, IL-IN-WI CMSA	25,947	New York, NY-NJ-CT CMSA	0.74
6. Washington, DC-MD-VA MSA	18,032	Laredo, TX MSA	0.72
7. Boston, MA-NH CMSA	15,461	El Paso, TX MSA	0.71
8. San Diego, CA MSA	13,351	San Francisco, CA CMSA	0.69
9. Houston, TX CMSA	11,799	McAllen, TX MSA	0.65
10. Philadelphia, PA-NJ-DE-MD CMSA	10,543	Honolulu, HI MSA	0.57

[a]Immigrants admitted to the United States, FY 1988, classed by intended area of residence.
[b]Immigrants as percent of resident population, 1988.

Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service, special tabulations.

metropolitan areas received the most immigrants, with well over 100,000. Miami and San Francisco were next, with over 40,000 each. Immigrants intending to live in Miami were nearly 1.5 percent of Miami's total population in 1988, just slightly less than Miami's annual average rate of total population change. Smaller metropolitan areas in Florida and Texas join places like New York and Los Angeles on the list of areas where immigration played the greatest role in population growth in 1988.

References

1. Frey, William H., "United States: Counterurbanization and Metropolis Depopulation," in A. G. Champion, ed., *Counterurbanization: the Changing Pace and Nature of the Population Deconcentration* (London: Edward Arnold, 1989) pp. 34–61.

reported earlier in this *Bulletin*. In this context, it is significant that only 3 of the top 20 all industrial metropolises in the nation's heartland (Detroit, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh), lost population in the 1980s, a decade when other larger metropolises in the North revived to register gains.

Prospects for Growth

Which of the nation's major metropolitan areas face the brightest prospects for the future? That will depend to a large extent on the structure of their economies, which will signal their success or failure in creating jobs and attracting population. It is useful to distinguish four broad categories of large metropolises for this purpose.[1]

World Cities: The term "World Cities" characterizes those metropolitan areas that are strong financial and trading actors in the international economy. These areas, such as New York, London, Frankfurt, and Tokyo play major roles in their national economies as well. With the increasing globalization of the world economy, such areas will become even more dominant as centers of international finance, headquarters for multinational corporations, and major exporters of advanced services.

Four U.S. metropolitan areas meet World City criteria. They are New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and San Fran-

cisco.[2] Together, they are home to a large share of the nation's biggest commercial banks, diversified financial companies, law firms, accounting firms, and consulting services with international expertise in management, advertising, and related activities.

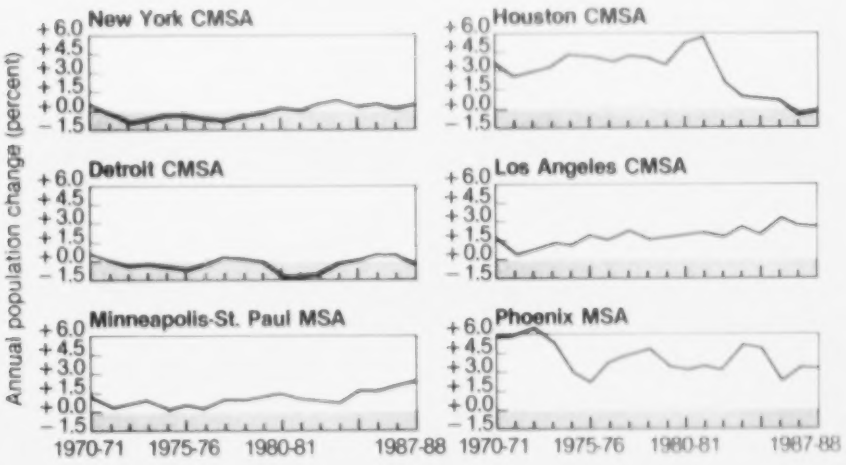
The significance of the strong "advanced services" sectors in these economies is reflected in the population growth patterns for the New York and Los Angeles metropolitan areas (see Figure 4). New York in particular overcame its unprecedented population declines of the 1970s. Throughout the 1980s, and even during the recessionary periods, New York enjoyed sustained employment growth and population increases. Much of the area's employment growth came from the strength of its advanced service sector, particularly in financial services.

The Los Angeles metropolitan area while gaining population both in the 1970s and 1980s, sustained slowdowns in the early 1970s from recession and declines in the defense industry. Its strong advanced service sector, however, complemented by a diversified economy, contributed to its rising growth levels during the 1980s.

National Command and Control Centers: Just as the World Cities should prosper in the post-industrial global economy, a second echelon of major "Command and Control Centers" will become key actors in the domestic economic arena. These metropolitan areas are also heavily engaged in advanced service and complex corporate economic activities, but are (at least for now) less oriented to the international marketplace than are the World Cities.

These metropolitan areas tend to be centers of national and regional financial and corporate decisionmaking ac-

Figure 4. Annual Population Change, Selected Metropolitan Areas, 1970–1988



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 and 1980 Population Censuses, and post-censal county estimates compiled by the Population Division.

tivities and also serve as distribution centers for various national consumer markets. Some of them, such as Philadelphia, Boston, and St. Louis are building on their historical strengths as national control centers, while others, such as Atlanta, Dallas-Fort Worth and Minneapolis-St. Paul, have evolved as hubs of regional activity.

Specialized Areas: While all of the nation's 20 largest metropolitan areas have diversified economies, some have relied heavily on one or two main economic sectors. Such areas run the risk of sustaining severe downturns during periods when these sectors fail, though in turn they will fare far better than average when the sectors prosper.

Houston is a good case in point. When the price of oil soared during the 1970s and lines formed at gas pumps throughout the nation, the rapid increase in employment in oil-related industries and its multiplier effects led to a surge in Houston's economic and population growth. This growth was particularly strong between 1979–82 when other large areas, such as Detroit, suffered serious recessions. The oil-price crash of 1982 and energy glut in 1985, on the other hand, led to severe employment losses and a sharp slowdown in Houston's population growth, as Figure 4 makes plain.

Houston's celebrated "boom and bust" should serve as warning to other areas whose future growth prospects depend primarily on specialized activities. Washington, D.C.'s enormous growth in the 1980s reflects the growth of the government-related private sector. San Diego's growth is heavily related to the defense industry, including both military personnel and government contracts.

Some areas, such as Miami and Phoenix, have grown and diversified beyond the one or two industries that shaped their initial growth, but they have not yet achieved national Command and Control Center status. As Figure 4 demonstrates, they display above-average fluctuations in their annual population growth rates.

Smokestack Areas: Detroit, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh warrant the separate category of "Smokestack Area." The economic base of each of these areas has been dominated by heavy industry such as steel and automobiles. As these industries declined in importance nationally during the 1970s (and 1980s, in the case of Detroit), employment and population declined. These metropolitan areas can no longer count on their basic industry as the major stimulus for growth, and have made efforts to diversify. To some degree an increase in the number of high-level service and research jobs has compensated for the loss of production employment. Yet these areas have had greater difficulty diversifying their economies than the World Cities or Command and Control Centers.

Continued population growth is likely for the World Cities and Command and Control Centers. Both types of areas possess the kinds of advanced services that can produce "agglomeration economies" in today's world in the same way that port cities and manufacturing centers attracted population growth in the past.

The Specialized Areas will probably continue to diversify their economies so that they will not be subject to the same booms and busts that many of them experienced in the 1970s and 1980s—though for many, growth will remain dependent on the level of federal defense expenditures.

The growth prospects for the three Smokestack Areas is less easy to forecast. The 1990s will be a crucial decade for Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland. Each has the capital, management expertise, and educated labor force necessary to expand and diversify its industrial base. The question for all three will be how successful their existing industries, along with the newly added ones, will be in the post-industrial environment of the 1990s.

nio, Los Angeles, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.), while only one that dropped out was a major area (Miami). In contrast, 16 of the 21 areas moving out of the fast-growing group were small metropolitan areas with populations under 250,000. Many of these were located in the Pacific Northwest, the Mountain West, and in the oil-producing regions of the South.

The 50 areas that lost population in the 1980s are also distinct from the rest. Over three-quarters of them are located in the North, and more than 60 percent are small areas. Thirty-four are small or moderate-sized manufacturing areas in the North, primarily in the Great Lakes states, in western Pennsylvania, and in upstate New York. Another 12 are located in mining areas of West Virginia and Kentucky, or in largely energy-dependent areas of the Southwest and Mountain West.

Only 4 of the areas that lost population in the 1980s are "million-plus" metropolitan areas (Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Detroit, and Cleveland). This contrasts sharply with the 1970s, when 8 of the 23 areas that lost population were large areas (including the 4 losers of the 1980s plus Philadelphia, St. Louis, New York, and Milwaukee).

In the 1970s, metropolitan decline as a whole was heavily influenced by the large population losses of the nation's major industrial metropolitan areas. Declines were relatively uncommon for smaller areas in all regions. However, the economic downturns of the 1980s affected smaller metropolitan areas more, resulting in slower population growth for many of them. At the same time, larger areas were reviving, both in their economic fortunes and in their population growth.

Southern and Western Gainers

Among the nation's individual metropolitan areas one finds strong gainers and areas with population loss, in each of the nation's regions, and in both the 1970s and 1980s. In general, however, a large number of areas in the South and West grew faster than any of the areas in the North, both in the 1970s and the 1980s. Likewise, a large number of northern areas declined in both decades.

The top 10 gainers in the South and West between 1980 and 1988 (see Table 4, page 26) are also the top gainers nationwide. Eight of these are located in Florida, and half have 1988 populations under 250,000. Many are strong magnets for retirees. This list also includes 3 areas that may approach "1 million" status in the 1990s—Orlando and West Palm Beach, Florida, and Austin, Texas. Austin and Orlando have improved their already high-growth rankings in the 1970s and have continued to develop diversified economies.

While many of these rapidly growing areas in the South and West have fairly specialized economies, some have been consistent population gainers. The 4 fast-growing areas in Table 4, page 26 were also the fastest-growing areas in the 1970s. West Palm Beach has been among the top 10 gainers since 1960.

The growth levels of the top 10 gainers in the North still lie well below growth levels of many Sunbelt areas. Rapid City, South Dakota, though the top ranked Snowbelt gainer, grew more slowly than 60 other metropolitan areas in the South and West. Minneapolis-St. Paul, which ranks 10th on the list of Northern gainers, ranks only 86th on the nationwide list.

The top 10 northern metropolitan gainers are primarily small areas. Seven have populations under 250,000 and 5 of these are under 150,000. Five are located west of the Mississippi River and 3 in New England.

The 3 largest of the 10 fastest growing northern metropolitan areas are symbolic of current growth trends. Minneapolis-St. Paul, a large diversified metropolis, has developed newer industries and service center functions. Atlantic City is a resort area. And Lancaster is

Table 4. Top 10 Metropolitan Area Gainers and Losers in North, South, and

Top gainers—North

Area	Percent gain 1980–88	Size (1,000s) 1988
1. Rapid City, SD MSA	+16.6	82
2. Manchester, NH MSA	+15.9	150
3. Portsmouth, NH-ME MSA	+15.4	220
4. Sioux Falls, SD MSA	+14.7	126
5. Lancaster, PA MSA	+14.3	414
6. Lawrence, KS MSA	+13.1	77
7. Springfield, MO MSA	+12.8	234
8. Burlington, VT MSA	+12.0	129
9. Atlantic City, NJ MSA	+11.9	309
10. Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN MSA	+11.7	2,388

Top gainers—South and West

Area	Percent gain 1980–88	Size (1,000s) 1988
1. Naples, FL MSA	+61.1	139
2. Ocala, FL MSA	+55.0	190
3. Fort Pierce, FL MSA	+53.3	232
4. Fort Myers-Cape Coral, FL MSA	+50.6	309
5. Melbourne, FL MSA	+42.3	388
6. West Palm Beach, FL MSA	+41.9	819
7. Austin, TX MSA	+39.5	749
8. Orlando, FL MSA	+38.8	971
9. Las Cruces, NM MSA	+37.0	132
10. Fort Walton Beach, FL MSA	+37.0	151

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 Population Census and county estimates for 1988 prepared by the

one of several manufacturing areas close to the New York-Philadelphia-Washington metropolitan corridor that have benefitted from the spillover of new industries and residents in search of a lower cost of living and of doing business. Lancaster's rise in rank is a likely precursor to future growth for moderate-size metropolitan areas at arm's length from the large East Coast metropolises.[23]

The 10 metropolitan areas in the North with the largest percent declines in population from 1980 to 1988 span a region from western Pennsylvania and New York state to Iowa and northern Minnesota. Most of them are smaller, production-oriented manufacturing towns that continue to stagger from the aftershocks of deindustrialization. What is significant about this list is the absence of 3 large metropolitan areas that appeared on it during the 1970s—New York, Cleveland, and St. Louis. Also, while 6 small metropolitan areas (with populations less than 250,000) are on this list, only 3 such areas were on the list in the 1970s.

The most striking aspect of the list of losers for the South and West is that these are not Sunbelt areas at all. Five of the metropolitan areas lie close to industrialized areas of the Snowbelt. The decline of extractive and manufacturing industries in the Appalachian region, adjacent to Pennsylvania and the

West Regions, 1980–1988

Top losers—North

Area	Percent loss 1980–88	Size (1,000s) 1988
1. Steubenville-Weirton, OH-WV MSA	9.8	148
2. Duluth, MN-WI MSA	9.5	241
3. Waterloo-Cedar Falls, IA MSA	9.2	148
4. Peoria, IL MSA	7.0	340
5. Muncie, IN MSA	6.6	120
6. Elmira, NY MSA	6.1	92
7. Decatur, IL MSA	5.9	124
8. Pittsburgh, PA CMSA	5.7	2,284
9. Youngstown-Warren, OH MSA	5.6	502
10. Buffalo, NY CMSA	5.4	1,176

Top losers—South and West

Area	Percent loss 1980–88	Size (1,000s) 1988
1. Casper, WY MSA	10.0	65
2. Wheeling, WV-OH MSA	7.6	172
3. Enid, OK MSA	7.2	58
4. Cumberland, MD-WV MSA	5.0	102
5. Huntington-Ashland, WV-KY-OH MSA	4.2	322
6. Danville, VA MSA	3.3	108
7. Charleston, WV MSA	3.3	261
8. Great Falls, MT MSA	3.1	78
9. Parkersburg-Marietta, WV-OH MSA	2.2	154
10. Eugene-Springfield, OR MSA	1.9	270

Population Division

Great Lakes states, has contributed to losses in 5 small metropolitan areas in West Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky. The remaining 5 areas are broadly distributed across the Mountain West, the Pacific Coast, Oklahoma, and Virginia. Besides these 10, only 2 additional Sunbelt areas (Beaumont-Port Arthur, Texas, and Gadsden, Alabama) lost population in the 1980s. Only 1 lost population in the 1970s—Great Falls, Montana, out West to be sure, but scarcely "Sunbelt."

Baby-Boom Magnets

Which metropolitan areas will be most attractive to the baby-boom generation as its members reach their most productive and affluent years? Which areas are likely to lose large numbers of boomers? All 10 of the boomer magnets are located in the Sunbelt (see Table 5, page 28). Six of them—Denver, Washington, D.C., Houston, Atlanta, San Francisco, Dallas—are "million-plus" areas. Nine of the least attractive spots for the baby boomers are located in old industrial sections of Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, and West Virginia.

Magnets for the baby-boomers are defined as those areas with the largest proportion of adult baby boomers in their 1985 populations and which experienced a 1980–85 growth in their baby-boom population of at least 9.5 percent.

Table 5. Baby-Boom Magnets and Losers: Metropolitan Areas with 250,000 or More Residents in 1985

Metropolitan Area	Adult baby boomers[a]	
	Proportion of 1985 population	Percent change 1980–1985
Magnets[b]		
1. Denver, CO CMSA	0.32	+ 14.4
2. Washington, DC-MD-VA MSA	0.31	+ 14.7
3. Houston, TX CMSA	0.31	+ 15.4
4. Austin, TX MSA	0.30	+ 12.1
5. Atlanta, GA MSA	0.30	+ 19.9
6. San Francisco, CA CMSA	0.29	+ 9.9
7. Dallas, TX CMSA	0.29	+ 19.7
8. Colorado Springs, CO MSA	0.29	+ 9.6
9. Portsmouth, NH-ME NECMA	0.28	+ 13.1
10. Las Vegas, NV MSA	0.27	+ 14.4
Losers[c]		
1. Scranton-Wilkes-Barre, PA MSA	0.21	5.4
2. Buffalo, NY CMSA	0.22	12.9
3. Johnstown, PA MSA	0.22	6.1
4. Youngstown, OH MSA	0.22	9.4
5. Huntington-Ashland, WV-KY-OH MSA	0.23	5.8
6. Pittsburgh, PA CMSA	0.23	7.2
7. Duluth-Superior, MN-WI MSA	0.23	15.4
8. Erie, PA MSA	0.23	7.5
9. Springfield, MA NECMA	0.23	9.9
10. Syracuse, NY MSA	0.23	6.8

[a]Born between 1945–1960 (ages 25–40 in 1985).
[b]Baby-boom proportion above 0.27 and percent change above + 9.5 percent.
[c]Baby-boom proportion under 0.24 and percent change under - 5.0 percent.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, County Population Estimates (Experimental) by Age, Sex, and Race, 1980–1985, computer data files.

Loser areas are those with the smallest proportions of adult baby boomers as of 1985 and which experienced a 1980–85 decline in their baby-boom population of more than 5 percent. This analysis includes only those baby boomers born between 1945 and 1960 (between the ages of 25 and 40 in 1985) in order to exclude the youngest members of the boom generation (born between 1961 and 1964) who were under age 25 in 1985.

It is not surprising to find that boomers are drawn to Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. Particularly for educated and affluent baby boomers, the capitol is attractive for its high-level government service and scientific employment opportunities. San Francisco is equally attractive to this group as a cosmopolitan financial center and World City. Both cities offer a high-quality lifestyle; San Francisco and Washington, D.C., ranked second and fourth, respectively, on an index of overall quality of life reported in *The Places Rated Almanac* in 1989.[24]

The remaining four "million-plus" baby boom magnets are also large, highly diversified metropolises. Although Houston's and Denver's hold on the baby-boom generation may have slipped somewhat since the mid-1980s as the energy boom ended, these areas are high-level, advanced service centers, like Atlanta and Dallas. Moreover, all of the six "million-plus" boomer magnets rank in the top 15 percent of all metropolitan areas on *The Places Rated*

Almanac's measures of employment prospects through 1995, cultural amenities, and overall quality of life.

The remaining smaller boomer magnets rank lower on most of these measures but provide the attractions of an education and industrial center (Austin and Colorado Springs), a growing resort economy (Las Vegas), and a moderate-sized diversified area (Portsmouth).[25]

The out-migration of baby boomers from the most unpopular areas is related to declines in employment opportunities during the late 1970s and early 1980s. None of the 10 least attractive spots with the baby-boom generation score high on *The Places Rated Almanac*'s measure of projected employment opportunities.

Pittsburgh ranks third on the overall quality of life index, however, and in the top 15 percent of all metropolitan areas on the arts and cultural amenities measure. With new community-driven initiatives to boost employment, this once prosperous area could gain baby boomers in the 1990s. As for all of the "loser" areas, the loss of so many baby boomers in their prime moving ages will make it difficult to replace them once they settle down and become less likely to move. Following them in the migratory age groups will be the much smaller baby bust generation.[26]

Elderly Magnets

At a time when the national population is aging, and the elderly population has become increasingly mobile, a number of metropolitan areas may expect future growth as magnets for people of retirement age. Several metropolitan areas in Florida—a traditional destination for retirees—have already capitalized on the rising number of elderly migrants. Over the 1975–80 period, Florida attracted 428,000 elderly migrants, close to a 60 percent increase over a similar period 10 years earlier. The elderly constitute almost a quarter of total migration for all ages to Florida from other states, and have helped to establish a number of "elderly magnet" areas.[27]

Areas with large proportions of the elderly (aged 65 and over) are not necessarily magnets, per se, because their population mix may simply reflect a net out-migration of younger people, leaving the elderly behind. Magnet areas that attract the elderly are defined as those with the greatest proportions of elderly residents in 1985 and increases in the elderly population between 1980 and 1985 exceeding 19.5 percent (see Table 6).

Five of the 10 elderly magnets are among the 6 fastest-growing metropolitan areas of the 1980s, which confirms

Table 6. Elderly Magnet Metropolitan Areas,[a] 1985

Metropolitan Area	Population ages 65: Proportion of 1985 population	Population ages 65: Percent change 1980–85
1. Sarasota, FL MSA	0.31	21.7
2. West Palm Beach, FL MSA	0.23	22.6
3. Fort Myers, FL MSA	0.23	31.4
4. Fort Pierce, FL MSA	0.21	32.9
5. Naples, FL MSA	0.20	39.8
6. Ocala, FL MSA	0.18	24.3
7. Lakeland, FL MSA	0.15	21.8
8. Medford, OR MSA	0.15	19.5
9. Melbourne, FL MSA	0.14	34.7
10. Tucson, AZ MSA	0.13	21.1

[a]Proportion of population over age 65 equal to 0.13 or more, and the percent change 19.5 or greater.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, County Population Estimates (Experimental) by Age, Sex, and Race: 1980–1985, computer data files.

U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development

Pittsburgh lost population in the 1970s and 1980s, yet offers a highly rated quality of life.

that the elderly population is contributing significantly to gains of fast-growing areas in Florida (West Palm Beach, Fort Myers, Fort Pierce, Naples, and Melbourne). Sarasota, where the elderly are the highest proportion of the total population and have enjoyed strong recent gains, is Florida's premier elderly magnet. But other metropolitan areas are also gaining population because they are attractive to retirees.

The Metropolitan Minority Population

Some metropolitan areas have seen a rapid increase in their minority populations in recent years. Nationally, the population of racial and ethnic minorities has been growing faster than have non-Hispanic whites. The 1980–85 growth rates for Hispanics, blacks, and Asian and other races were 22.9 percent, 8.3 percent, and 36.1 percent, respectively. The total U.S. population grew only 5.4 percent during the period.

Blacks, Mexicans, and other Hispanic and Asian groups live in all parts of the country and in virtually every metropolitan area. To a much greater degree than the majority population, however, minorities concentrate in specific metropolitan areas. Estimates prepared by David L. Word of the U.S. Census Bureau for areas with large concentrations of blacks, Hispanics, and members of other races (most of whom are Asians) appear in Table 7.

Since 1970, black metropolitan redistribution patterns have come closer to white patterns than was the case in the 1950s or 1960s.[28] The 1940s saw a strong out-migration of blacks from the South to selected large metropolitan areas in the North—particularly New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Detroit. During this period the white population showed a net out-migration from the North to metropolitan areas in the West and South.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, blacks also began moving to the South. Large southern metropolitan areas showed higher rates of growth in the black population than the northern areas that had attracted blacks in the past. While blacks did not participate in the nonmetropolitan turnaround of the 1970s, nonmetropolitan areas gained blacks to a greater extent during that decade than they had in the past.

The movement of blacks across all parts of the country is evident in David Word's population estimates for 1985, which show that 223 of the nation's metropolitan areas contained black populations exceeding 10,000. In all but 6 of these areas, the black population increased between 1980 and 1985. Yet Word's estimates also point to the continued concentrations of blacks in selected places. Almost 30 percent of the black metropolitan population is located in

Table 7. Metropolitan Areas with the Largest Populations of Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians and Other Races, 1985

Metropolitan Area*	Minority population 1985 (1,000s)	Percent increase 1980–85	Proportion of total population
Black populations exceed 500,000		Blacks	
1. New York MSA	3,201	+ 8.8	0.18
2. Chicago MSA	1,645	+ 5.2	0.20
3. Los Angeles CMSA	1,194	+ 12.1	0.09
4. Philadelphia CMSA	1,109	+ 6.2	0.19
5. Washington, D.C. MSA	965	+ 10.3	0.27
6. Detroit CMSA	949	+ 3.1	0.20
7. Houston CMSA	641	+ 13.6	0.18
8. Atlanta MSA	608	+ 15.6	0.25
9. Baltimore MSA	592	+ 5.6	0.26
10. San Francisco CMSA	524	+ 11.2	0.09
Hispanic populations exceed 500,000		Hispanics	
1. Los Angeles CMSA	3,660	+ 32.3	0.28
2. New York CMSA	2,346	+ 14.7	0.13
3. Miami CMSA	815	+ 30.0	0.28
4. San Francisco CMSA	775	+ 19.4	0.13
5. Chicago CMSA	757	+ 22.2	0.09
6. Houston CMSA	595	+ 33.3	0.17
7. San Antonio MSA	568	+ 16.9	0.47
Asian Other populations exceed 500,000		Asian Other	
1. Los Angeles CMSA	1,061	+ 51.2	0.08
2. San Francisco CMSA	752	+ 45.5	0.13
3. New York CMSA	604	+ 40.4	0.03
4. Honolulu MSA	539	+ 13.9	0.64

*Metropolitan areas with 500,000 or more blacks, Hispanics, or Asians and Other Races.

Source: Word, David L. "Population Estimates by Race and Hispanic Origin for States, Metropolitan Areas, and Selected Counties: 1980 to 1985." *Current Population Reports*, P-25, No. 1040-RD-1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1989).

just 4 large metropolitan areas—New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Detroit. The 10 areas with black populations over one-half million comprised nearly half of the total black metropolitan population in 1985.

America's Hispanic ethnic groups are also concentrated in a few metropolitan areas, primarily in the Southwest and in large immigrant ports of entry. California and Texas together were home to nearly 55 percent of the Hispanic population in 1985. The two individual metropolitan areas with the largest numbers of Hispanics are Los Angeles, with 3.6 million, and New York, with 2 million. Miami, San Francisco, Chicago, Houston, and San Antonio follow, all with more than 500,000 Hispanics. In 1985, 94 metropolitan areas had Hispanic populations exceeding 10,000, and each of these experienced gains over the 1980–85 period.

There is clearly a dispersion of Hispanics across metropolitan areas, with the greatest concentrations in the South and West, reflecting the proximity to Latin America. By and large, the three major Hispanic groups—Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans—cluster in different areas. Mexican Americans live primarily in metropolitan areas of the Southwest, Cubans in Miami, and Puerto Ricans in the New York area.

The Census Bureau's "Asian and Other Races" category includes Asians, Pacific Islanders, American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts. Asians are by far the largest group within this category, and, with Pacific Islanders, make up at least 70 percent of the total. U.S. Asians are highly concentrated in metropolitan areas, reflecting the fact that many are recent immigrants who locate in ethnic communities in large ports of entry.

Four such areas dominate as residential locations for Asians—Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, and Honolulu. Together, these 4 areas are home to almost 40 percent of the nation's Asian population. Moreover, the 1980–85 growth rate for this population in the first 3 areas exceeds their growth rate nationwide. Still, there are signs of dispersion. In 1985, 65 metropolitan areas had more than 10,000 people in the Asian-and-Other-Race category, and all of these increased their totals over the 1980–85 period. The Houston and Dallas metropolitan areas, in particular, sustained high rates of growth in their Asian and other race populations.[25]

U.S. Asians are highly concentrated in metropolitan areas.

Will Minorities Become the Majority?

Rapid immigration from Asia and Latin America, combined with low fertility rates for the total U.S. population, has prompted forecasts of minorities eventually becoming the majority, outnumbering non-Hispanic whites. If so, the trend will occur first in the metropolitan areas with large concentrations of minorities. Asians and Pacific Islanders are already nearly two-thirds of Honolulu's total population—not surprising given Hawaii's status as a Pacific island that is closer to Tokyo than to Chicago. Hispanics are nearly a majority of San Antonio's population.

There are 6 smaller metropolitan areas that have majority Hispanic populations, all of which are located close to the Mexican border.* Also, several small southern metropolitan areas with traditionally large black communities have black proportions that approach a majority.** But as of 1985, most large metropolitan areas are not close to becoming dominated by any single minority group. In all 10 of the metropolitan areas with large black populations, their proportion is well below half. Aside from Honolulu and San Antonio, the same is true for areas with large numbers of Hispanics and Asians.

In two large metropolitan areas, however, the combination of minority groups exceeds the non-Hispanic white population. In Los Angeles the combined proportions of Hispanics, blacks, and the Asian-and-Other-Races category is above 50 percent. And in San Antonio, the large Hispanic population combined with the black population also forms a majority of the total metropolitan population. Miami, with its large black and Cuban populations, is close to having a "minority majority." In New

* The Texas metropolitan areas of Laredo, McAllen, Brownsville, El Paso, and Corpus Christi, and Las Cruces, NM.

** Including Pine Bluff, AR; Jackson, MS; Albany, GA; and Memphis, TN.

York and San Francisco, where non-Hispanic whites are still a large majority, the population of blacks, Hispanics, and Asians and other races is growing faster than the non-Hispanic white population.

Heavy immigration from Asia and Latin America, and low levels of immigration from Europe, are likely to continue in the future. These trends suggest that in particular ports of entry non-Hispanic whites will eventually become a minority. Another factor will be the extent to which blacks remain concentrated in major metropolitan areas in the future, or share more fully in the broad population redistribution trends of the majority population.

Central Cities and Their Suburbs

The past two decades have seen dramatic changes in population dynamics within metropolitan areas—between central cities and their suburbs, the two metropolitan components. Central-city blacks began moving to the suburbs in the 1970s, and pockets of "gentrification" emerged in central cities as white baby boomers restored homes in downtown neighborhoods. These trends helped to change the image of "black cities, white suburbs," though not enough to curtail the emergence of new pockets of underclass poverty in cities.

The metropolitan-wide growth slowdown of the 1970s led to lower rates of suburbanization compared to the 1950s and 1960s. Still, it was the central cities of many large areas that bore the brunt of these metropolitan-wide population declines. Several central cities—St. Louis, Buffalo, Cleveland, and Detroit—lost more than one-fifth of their populations in the 1970s. The experience of the 1980s suggests that some of these cities may become specialized, gentrified "nodes" within larger multi-centered metropolitan areas. Many central cities will become more racially diverse as they house growing concentrations of new immigrant groups.

The nation's largest metropolitan areas are continuing to experience the slow suburban growth in the 1980s that characterized the 1970s.* While many of the newer southern and western suburbs have been growing much faster than their central cities, even these differences have become smaller since 1980.

What is new in the 1980s are higher rates of population growth (or lower rates of decline) for the central cities of these large metropolitan areas. Seven of the 25 central cities in this group that lost population in the 1970s (New York, Boston, Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, Indianapolis, San Francisco-Oakland, Portland, and Seattle-Everett) gained during 1980–88. All of the remaining 18 have registered lower average annual declines since 1980.

A clue as to why central cities have rebounded from their 1970s losses can be drawn from the experiences of the nation's oldest industrial centers, those large northern areas that faced population losses in the 1970s. The greatest 1980s gains have accrued to the World Cities and Command and Control Centers among this group. A prime example is New York City, which lost 10 percent of its population during the 1970s, but gained 4 percent between 1980 and 1988. Similar central city gains, or lesser declines, were evident in other northern areas with established advanced service industries (Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, and Cincinnati).

Twelve metropolitan areas in the South and West differed sharply from the general trend of central-city decline in the 1970s, as both their central cities

*The large metropolitan areas examined in this section do not conform precisely to the definitions used in previous sections of this *Bulletin*. With the exception of the New York and Paterson-Clifton-Passaic areas, they follow the SMSA definitions used in the 1980 Census and are the 39 areas with 1980 populations exceeding 1 million.

and suburbs grew, in some cases at phenomenal rates. These areas generally have expansive central cities with ample room for development within their corporate limits. Many of them are fairly specialized in their economic functions. These southern cities are San Antonio, Dallas-Fort Worth, Houston, Tampa-St. Petersburg, Miami, and Ft. Lauderdale-Hollywood. The western cities are Sacramento, San Diego, San Jose, Phoenix, Riverside-San Bernadino-Ontario, and Anaheim-Santa Ana-Garden Grove. These metropolitan areas typically grew more slowly in the 1980s than in the 1970s.

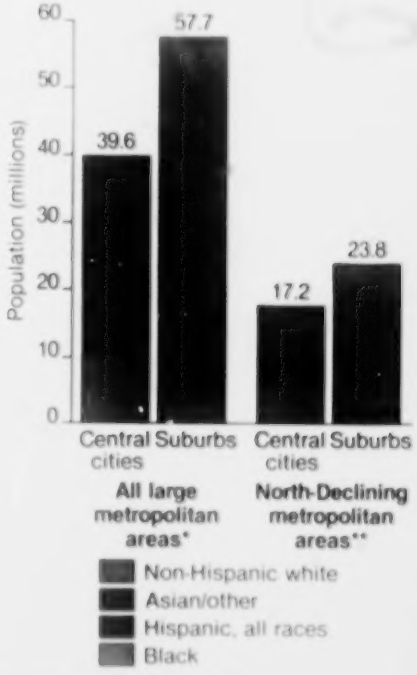
Minorities in Central Cities and Suburbs

The racial composition of today's cities and suburbs is far more diverse than before. The "white flight" to the suburbs of the 1950s and 1960s, coupled with steady black migration to the cities, resulted in suburbs that were primarily white and central cities that were increasingly black. Then, the 1970s saw the beginning of a black suburbanization movement.[31] The Civil Rights Act of 1968 significantly reduced racial discrimination in the housing market. Also, the economic circumstances of many blacks improved at a time when large numbers reached the home-buying age groups.[32]

Certainly, the black suburbanization of the 1970s was not sufficient to erase decades of racial segregation.[33] High levels of community and neighborhood segregation between blacks and whites remained within the suburbs by the end of the decade.[34] Still, the magnitude of black suburbanization in the 1970s far exceeded that of earlier decades.

Also, the rising number of immigrants, particularly Hispanics and Asians, added considerable racial and ethnic diversity to many of the largest central cities and their suburbs. Immigrants tend to settle in central cities. Despite the recent waves of immigrants from Asia and Latin America, Asians and Hispanics as a group have higher rates of suburban residence and neighborhood integration than the black population.[35] Figure 5 shows the central city and suburb distributions of these groups for all large metropolitan areas and for the "North-Declining" areas identified by Frey and Speare.[36]

Figure 5. Racial and Ethnic Composition of Central Cities and Suburbs in Large Metropolitan Areas, 1988



*Defined in footnote, page 33.

**Based on a typology developed by Frey and Speare (see reference 36). North-Declining includes New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Buffalo, Chicago, Newark, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, and Paterson-Clifton-Passaic.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, public use data files from the March 1988 Current Population Survey.

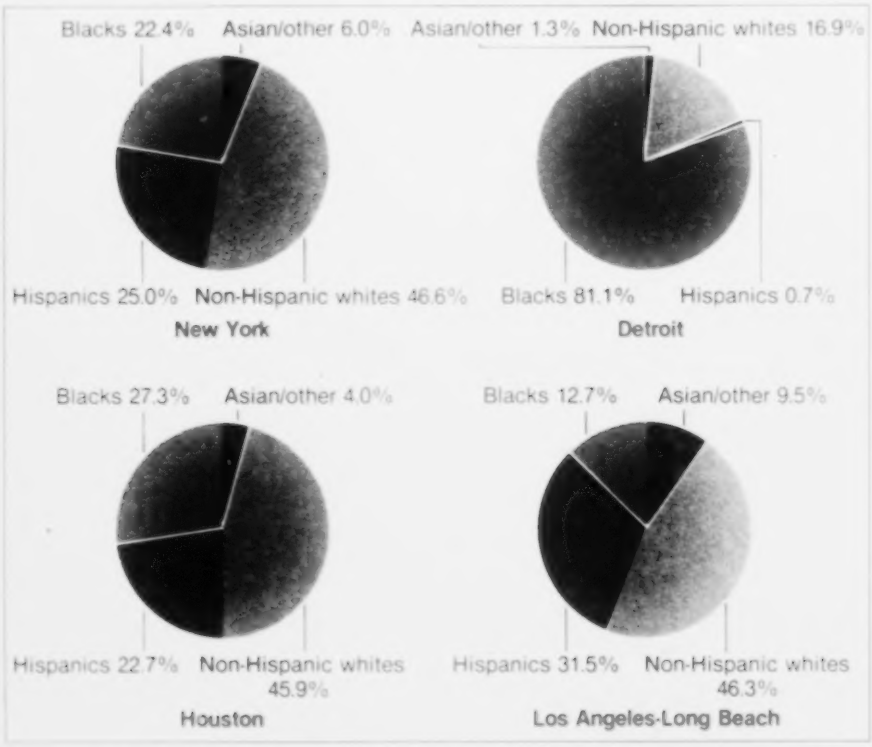
By 1980, within 14 of the nation's largest metropolitan areas, non-Hispanic whites either had already dropped below half of the central city population, or were about to do so. Figure 6 shows the mix of blacks, Hispanics, and Asians in the central cities of four such areas in 1988. In these four central cities, minorities as a group are a majority of the total population, and in Detroit, the black population alone is a majority.

Central City Poverty

The 1970s saw the widespread elimination and relocation of manufacturing employment that used to offer social and economic advancement opportunities for immigrants and minorities in central cities. As employment opportunities available to inner-city minorities dried up, joblessness and poverty rose.[37]

Some scholars have reported a selective out-migration of central city middle- and working-class minorities, leaving behind the more poverty-prone.[38] These trends have given rise to concentrated inner-city poverty areas cut off from mainstream city neighborhoods. Although these "pockets of poverty" are a matter of great concern, there are two misconceptions about city poverty. The

Figure 6. Racial and Ethnic Composition of Selected Central Cities, 1988



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, public use data files from the March 1988 Current Population Survey.

first is that most of the poverty population in the United States resides within the central cities of large metropolitan areas. The second is that a substantial proportion of central city residents are minorities living in poverty.

A careful study of poverty by Bane and Jargowsky indicates that less than 30 percent of the total national poverty population lives in the largest central cities.[39] Some 80 percent of non-Hispanic white poor people live in the suburbs of these large metropolitan areas, in smaller metropolitan areas, and in rural or nonmetropolitan America.[40] Nevertheless, the vast majority of black poverty households are in central cities.

Large central cities are not dominated by black poverty, however. In the central cities of the nation's 39 largest metropolitan areas, for example, the black poverty population represents 7.5 percent of the total population, and the total poverty population represents less than 18 percent of all residents (see Figure 7). Nor are these black poverty households a majority of all black central city households, though the proportion is about one black household in three.

There are alarming pockets of black poverty within large central cities. Bane and Jargowsky estimate that only about 9 percent of poor city whites—but 35 percent of poor blacks—live in concentrated poverty neighborhoods.[41] The social and economic isolation faced by residents of concentrated poverty neighborhoods are leading to severe eco-

Figure 7. Percent of Central City and Suburban Households in Poverty by Race, Large Metropolitan Areas, 1988

*Defined in footnote, page 33.

**Based on a typology developed by Frey and Speare (see reference 36). North-Declining includes New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Buffalo, Chicago, Newark, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, and Paterson-Clifton-Passaic.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, public use data files from the March 1988 Current Population Survey.

March of Dimes

Since the 1970s, more and more middle-class black families have moved into suburban areas.

nomic and social consequences for these people and their children. The problems are greatest in those cities where there are extensive neighborhoods of minorities and where minorities are a large percentage of all residents. The majority of the nation's concentrated poverty households are located in only about 10 of the largest central cities.

Baby-Boom Suburbanization

One hope held by many people in the 1970s was that as the baby-boom generation reached the household formation ages their preference for settling in the cities would revitalize sagging urban neighborhoods. This hope of "gentrification" was based on the premise that young adults tend to prefer a central city residence, at least until they settle down and have families. Central cities have traditionally served as "staging areas" for young adults before marriage and childbearing.[40]

People also anticipated that the baby boomers, more so than earlier groups, would be likely to stay in the city beyond the early adult years. This expectation rested on the trends of delayed marriage and childbearing and the idea that the cultural amenities and professional employment opportunities located in central cities would appeal to more affluent baby boomers as they aged into their 30s and 40s.

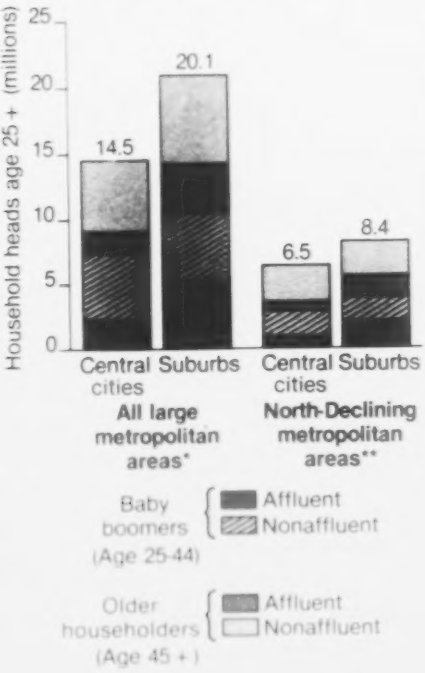
The record of the 1970s suggests that the gentrification trend was less important than had been anticipated.[41] Undoubtedly, the sheer number of baby boomers staved off even greater population declines for central cities than would otherwise have occurred, but as the 1980s ended the majority of baby boomers had already reached their 30s and early 40s, and they are not remaining in the central cities.

Figure 8, page 38, shows that the distribution between cities and suburbs is no different for baby boomers than for older adult households, either for the 39 largest metropolitan areas as a whole or for the 13 large "North-Declining" metropolitan areas.[42] It is the higher-income boomers who are primarily responsible for the greater suburbanization of all baby boomers. Nonaffluent baby boomers are fairly equally distributed between the central cities and the suburbs, but affluent boomers are more than twice as likely to locate in the suburbs than the city. In this respect, the baby boomers also parallel the experiences of older households.

Pockets of gentrification exist within most large central cities and, as suggested earlier, these pockets are more numerous within such cosmopolitan cities as San Francisco and Washington, D.C. But it appears that the baby-boom generation has followed the patterns of earlier generations by moving to the suburbs as they begin to raise their families.

The hope that affluent baby boomers would reinvigorate the nation's largest central cities seems to have evaporated.

Figure 8. Baby Boom and Older Household Heads by Level of Affluence: Central Cities and Suburbs, 1988



Note: Affluence is defined as a household income in the top 30th percentile of all household incomes 1988; nonaffluence is the bottom 70 percent of incomes.

*Defined in footnote, page 33.

**Based on a typology developed by Frey and Speare (see reference 36). North-Declining includes New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Buffalo, Chicago, Newark, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, and Paterson-Clifton-Passaic.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, public use data files from the March 1988 Current Population Survey.

Conclusion: Beyond the Transition

Throughout most of America's history people have moved from small towns and villages to ever-expanding cities. This growing concentration of the population in metropolitan areas has reflected powerful economic forces. In retrospect, the rural renaissance of the 1970s, which many people thought marked a transition away from metropolitan growth toward a new deconcentration of the population, was not all that it seemed to be at the time. The economic adversity of the 1980s quickly put the brakes on population deconcentration trends, allowing a moderate metropolitan growth to emerge.

Still, the strong metropolitan growth trends of the 1950s and 1960s are not likely to reappear, as the restructuring of the national economy continues and new employment opportunities are created in communities of all sizes. Most certainly, national and worldwide economic restructuring will continue to play a role in shaping America's employment and residential distribution patterns in the future.

As America's production and consumption become increasingly linked to global economic activities, the 1990s will likely bring further vitality to the nation's two major World Cities, New York and Los Angeles. The increased population pressure on already densely settled coastal areas will probably spur the spread of population growth inland—westward beyond the megalopolis on the Atlantic Coast, and eastward into central California and other areas linked to the Pacific Coast.

Such Command and Control Centers as Atlanta and Dallas should also continue to prosper. Many large southern and western metropolitan areas that were hit hard by the rolling recessions of the 1980s will successfully diversify and rebound economically and demo-

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Gentrification, the much-touted salvation of declining urban neighborhoods by affluent baby boomers, was less important than anticipated.

graphically. Immigration from Asia and Latin America will continue to boost the populations of major ports of entry in the 1990s. The large and increasingly mobile elderly population is likely to foster further population gains for fast-growing retirement centers in Florida and other Sunbelt destinations.

The greatest question marks for the 1990s concern the growth prospects of older large smokestack metropolises around the Great Lakes and smaller industrial areas throughout the Midwest. Many of these areas still specialize heavily in less-than-competitive industries. The key to their future growth prospects lies in their capacity to diversify.

The economic forces of the 1980s dealt some sharp blows to nonmetropolitan America. While these negative forces apparently diminished by the end of the decade, it is not certain how quickly these areas can rebound from the economic adversity of this period. If they can, there is the potential for renewed population gain. The strong deconcentration patterns of the 1970s demonstrated that many people prefer the amenities and quality of life offered by smaller communities when economic conditions permit.

If the trends of the past two decades have taught us anything, it is that regional and metropolitan population growth in the United States has become much more volatile and responsive to both local and worldwide forces. The transition that has taken place is really the change to a new redistribution process rather than to a specific geographic pattern. Improvements in communication and production technologies, the diffusion of urban amenities throughout the country, and the rise of a global economy have created new distribution dynamics.

Many of the constraints underlying traditional regional and metropolitan growth patterns have been lifted. As a result, the fortunes of metropolitan areas and smaller communities increasingly will be determined by corporate decisions, people's residential preferences and, perhaps most important of all, how effectively areas can adapt to rapidly changing economic conditions.

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Appendix Table: U.S. Metropolitan Areas Ranked by 1988 Population

Size Rank	MSA/CMSA	State(s)	Size (1,000s) 1988	Percent Growth 1980–88	Growth Rank
1	New York-Northern N.J.-Long Island CMSA	NY-NJ-CT	18,120.2	3.3	192
2	Los Angeles-Anaheim-Riverside CMSA	CA	13,769.7	19.8	51
3	Chicago-Gary-Lake County CMSA	IL-IN-WI	8,180.9	3.1	195
4	San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose CMSA	CA	6,041.8	12.6	80
5	Philadelphia-Wilmington-Trenton CMSA	PA-NJ-DE-MD	5,963.3	5.0	172
6	Detroit-Ann Arbor CMSA	MI	4,620.2	-2.8	251
7	Boston-Lawrence-Salem CMSA	MA-NH	4,109.9	3.5	187
8	Dallas-Fort Worth CMSA	TX	3,766.1	28.5	20
9	Washington MSA	DC-MD-VA	3,734.2	14.9	67
10	Houston-Galveston-Brazoria CMSA	TX	3,641.5	17.5	57
11	Miami-Fort Lauderdale CMSA	FL	3,000.5	13.5	75
12	Cleveland-Akron-Lorain CMSA	OH	2,769.0	2.3	247
13	Atlanta MSA	GA	2,736.6	28.0	23
14	St. Louis MSA	MO-IL	2,466.7	3.8	184
15	Seattle-Tacoma CMSA	WA	2,420.8	15.6	65
16	Minneapolis-St. Paul MSA	MN-WI	2,387.5	11.7	86
17	San Diego MSA	CA	2,370.4	27.3	25
18	Baltimore MSA	MD	2,342.5	6.5	154
19	Pittsburgh-Beaver Valley CMSA	PA	2,284.1	-5.7	273
20	Phoenix MSA	AZ	2,029.5	34.5	14
21	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater MSA	FL	1,995.1	23.6	35
22	Denver-Boulder CMSA	CO	1,858.0	14.8	69
23	Cincinnati-Hamilton CMSA	OH-KY-IN	1,728.5	4.1	180
24	Kansas City MSA	MO-KS	1,575.4	9.9	107
25	Milwaukee-Racine CMSA	WI	1,571.7	0.1	232
26	Portland-Vancouver CMSA	OR-WA	1,414.2	9.0	125
27	Sacramento MSA	CA	1,385.2	25.9	28
28	Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News MSA	VA	1,380.2	19.0	54
29	Columbus MSA	OH	1,344.3	8.1	131
30	San Antonio MSA	TX	1,323.2	23.4	36
31	New Orleans MSA	LA	1,306.9	4.0	182
32	Indianapolis MSA	IN	1,236.6	6.0	160
33	Buffalo-Niagara Falls CMSA	NY	1,175.6	-5.4	271
34	Providence-Pawtucket-Fall River CMSA	RI-MA	1,125.4	3.9	183
35	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill MSA	NC-SC	1,112.0	14.5	72
36	Hartford-New Britain-Middletown CMSA	CT	1,067.6	-5.3	168
37	Salt Lake City-Ogden MSA	UT	1,065.0	17.0	60
38	Rochester MSA	NY	980.1	-0.9	227
39	Memphis MSA	TN-AR-MS	979.3	7.2	144
40	Nashville MSA	TN	971.8	14.3	74
41	Orlando MSA	FL	971.2	38.8	8
42	Louisville MSA	KY-IN	967.0	1.1	220
43	Oklahoma City MSA	OK	963.8	11.9	84
44	Dayton-Springfield MSA	OH	948.0	-0.6	229
45	Greensboro-Winston-Salem-High Point, MSA	NC	924.7	8.6	128
46	Birmingham MSA	AL	923.4	4.5	176
47	Jacksonville MSA	FL	898.1	24.3	33
48	Albany-Schenectady-Troy MSA	NY	850.8	-1.8	214
49	Richmond-Petersburg MSA	VA	844.3	10.9	94
50	Honolulu MSA	HI	838.5	10.0	106
51	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton-Delray Beach, MSA	FL	818.5	41.9	6
52	Austin MSA	TX	748.5	39.5	7
53	Scranton-Wilkes-Barre MSA	PA	736.6	-1.1	224
54	Tulsa MSA	OK	727.6	10.7	96
55	Raleigh-Durham MSA	NC	683.5	21.9	41
56	Allentown-Bethlehem MSA	PA-NJ	677.1	6.6	149

Appendix Table continues

Size Rank	MSA/CMSA	State(s)	Size (1,000s) 1988	Percent Growth 1980–88	Growth Rank
57	Grand Rapids MSA	MI	665.2	10.6	97
58	Syracuse MSA	NY	650.3	1.1	223
59	Tucson MSA	AZ	636.0	19.7	52
60	Las Vegas MSA	NV	631.3	36.3	12
61	Omaha MSA	NE-IA	621.6	6.2	157
62	Greenville-Spartanburg MSA	SC	621.4	9.0	123
63	Toledo MSA	OH	616.5	0.1	234
64	Fresno MSA	CA	614.8	19.5	53
65	Knoxville MSA	TN	599.6	5.9	162
66	Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle MSA	PA	591.1	6.3	156
67	El Paso MSA	TX	585.9	22.1	39
68	Baton Rouge MSA	LA	536.5	8.6	129
69	New Haven-Meriden MSA	CT	523.7	4.7	174
70	Springfield MSA	MA	522.5	1.4	216
71	Bakersfield MSA	CA	520.0	29.0	18
72	Little Rock-North Little Rock MSA	AR	513.1	8.1	132
73	Charleston MSA	SC	510.8	18.7	56
74	Youngstown-Warren MSA	OH	501.7	5.6	272
75	Albuquerque MSA	NM	493.1	17.3	58
76	Mobile MSA	AL	485.6	9.5	116
77	Wichita MSA	KS	483.1	9.2	119
78	Columbia MSA	SC	456.5	11.3	89
79	Stockton MSA	CA	455.7	31.2	15
80	Johnson City-Kingsport-Bristol MSA	TN-VA	442.3	2.0	211
81	Chattanooga MSA	TN-GA	438.1	2.7	201
82	Flint MSA	MI	430.7	4.4	262
83	Lansing-East Lansing MSA	MI	428.4	2.1	208
84	Worcester MSA	MA	415.7	3.2	193
85	Lancaster MSA	PA	414.1	14.3	73
86	York MSA	PA	410.4	7.6	139
87	Saginaw-Bay City-Midland MSA	MI	406.2	3.6	259
88	Canton MSA	OH	401.4	0.8	237
89	Augusta MSA	GA-SC	396.4	14.6	71
90	Jackson MSA	MS	396.2	9.4	118
91	Lakeland-Winter Haven MSA	FL	395.8	23.0	37
92	Colorado Springs MSA	CO	393.9	27.3	24
93	Des Moines MSA	IA	391.8	6.6	151
94	Melbourne-Titusville-Palm Bay MSA	FL	388.3	42.3	5
95	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission MSA	TX	387.9	36.9	11
96	Fort Wayne MSA	IN	367.4	3.7	185
97	Davenport-Rock Island-Moline MSA	IA-IL	364.2	5.3	269
98	Beaumont-Port Arthur MSA	TX	363.9	2.5	249
99	Shreveport MSA	LA	359.1	7.8	137
100	Corpus Christi MSA	TX	358.0	9.7	111
101	Spokane MSA	WA	356.4	4.3	178
102	Madison MSA	WI	352.8	9.0	124
103	Pensacola MSA	FL	349.9	20.8	46
104	Salinas-Seaside-Monterey MSA	CA	348.8	20.1	49
105	Daytona Beach MSA	FL	348.4	34.6	13
106	Lexington-Fayette MSA	KY	347.9	9.6	113
107	Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Lompoc MSA	CA	343.1	14.9	68
108	Modesto MSA	CA	341.0	28.3	22
109	Peoria MSA	IL	340.4	7.0	277
110	Reading MSA	PA	329.1	5.3	169
111	Huntington-Ashland MSA	WV-KY-OH	322.3	4.2	261
112	Appleton-Oshkosh-Neenah MSA	WI	312.9	7.4	142
113	Utica-Rome MSA	NY	312.6	2.4	248
114	Atlantic City MSA	NJ	309.2	11.9	85
115	Fort Myers-Cape Coral MSA	FL	309.1	50.6	4
116	Montgomery MSA	AL	300.8	10.3	99

Size Rank	MSA/CMSA	State(s)	Size (1,000s) 1988	Percent Growth 1980–88	Growth Rank
117	Visalia-Tulare-Porterville MSA	CA	297.9	21.2	43
118	Macon-Warner Robins MSA	GA	286.7	8.8	126
119	Rockford MSA	IL	282.2	1.0	225
120	Evansville MSA	IN-KY	281.2	1.8	215
121	Erie MSA	PA	277.0	1.0	238
122	Eugene-Springfield MSA	OR	270.1	1.9	244
123	Salem MSA	OR	269.8	8.0	133
124	Brownsville-Harlingen MSA	TX	264.0	25.9	29
125	Poughkeepsie MSA	NY	262.2	7.0	147
126	Charleston MSA	WV	260.8	3.3	256
127	Sarasota MSA	FL	260.6	28.9	19
128	Binghamton MSA	NY	260.2	1.2	239
129	New London-Norwich MSA	CT-RI	259.3	3.4	191
130	Fayetteville MSA	NC	255.7	3.5	189
131	Johnstown MSA	PA	250.6	5.3	268
132	Columbus MSA	GA-AL	246.9	3.2	194
133	Savannah MSA	GA	244.4	10.8	95
134	South Bend-Mishawaka MSA	IN	244.2	1.1	222
135	Provo-Orem MSA	UT	242.7	11.3	90
136	Duluth MSA	MN-WI	241.4	9.5	281
137	Reno MSA	NV	239.7	23.8	34
138	Killeen-Temple MSA	TX	239.6	11.6	87
139	Huntsville MSA	AL	236.7	20.2	48
140	Springfield MSA	MO	234.3	12.8	79
141	Fort Pierce MSA	FL	231.8	53.3	3
142	Tallahassee MSA	FL	228.6	20.1	50
143	Lubbock MSA	TX	226.8	7.2	145
144	Hickory MSA	NC	222.1	9.6	114
145	Roanoke MSA	VA	221.6	0.5	230
146	Portsmouth-Dover-Rochester MSA	NH-ME	220.4	15.4	66
147	Anchorage MSA	AK	218.5	25.3	31
148	Kalamazoo MSA	MI	217.9	2.6	203
149	Waterbury MSA	CT	215.8	5.3	170
150	Portland MSA	ME	212.2	9.5	117
151	Lincoln MSA	NE	211.6	9.7	112
152	Lafayette MSA	LA	209.6	10.2	101
153	Gainesville MSA	FL	207.6	21.1	44
154	Biloxi-Gulfport MSA	MS	205.0	12.5	81
155	Boise City MSA	ID	200.7	15.9	63
156	Amarillo MSA	TX	196.3	13.0	78
157	Springfield MSA	IL	191.7	2.1	209
158	Green Bay MSA	WI	191.2	9.1	121
159	Ocala MSA	FL	189.8	55.0	2
160	Waco MSA	TX	188.0	10.1	105
161	Bradenton MSA	FL	186.9	25.9	30
162	Yakima MSA	WA	185.5	7.6	138
163	Houma-Thibodaux MSA	LA	183.1	3.5	188
164	Fort Collins-Loveland MSA	CO	182.0	22.0	40
165	St. Cloud MSA	MN	181.2	11.0	92
166	Bremerton MSA	WA	180.9	22.9	38
167	Fort Smith MSA	AR-OK	180.7	11.0	93
168	Chico MSA	CA	174.5	21.3	42
169	Asheville MSA	NC	173.1	7.5	140
170	Lake Charles MSA	LA	172.4	3.1	196
171	Champaign-Urbana-Rantoul MSA	IL	172.1	2.2	206
172	Wheeling MSA	WV-OH	171.5	7.6	279
173	Cedar Rapids MSA	IA	171.5	1.0	226
174	Merced MSA	CA	170.0	26.3	26
175	New Bedford MSA	MA	167.9	0.7	228
176	Longview-Marshall MSA	TX	166.6	9.8	109

Appendix Table continues

Size Rank	MSA/CMSA	State(s)	Size (1,000s) 1988	Percent Growth 1980–88	Growth Rank
177	Benton Harbor MSA	MI	166.6	2.8	252
178	Topeka MSA	KS	164.8	6.4	155
179	Muskegon MSA	MI	161.3	2.4	205
180	Clarksville-Hopkinsville MSA	TN-KY	158.9	5.7	164
181	Lima MSA	OH	156.7	1.3	218
182	Olympia MSA	WA	156.6	26.1	27
183	Parkersburg-Marietta MSA	WV-OH	154.4	2.2	246
184	Tyler MSA	TX	152.6	18.9	55
185	Elkhart-Goshen MSA	IN	151.1	10.1	103
186	Fort Walton Beach MSA	FL	150.6	37.0	10
187	Manchester MSA	NH	149.9	15.9	64
188	Jackson MSA	MI	149.5	1.3	240
189	Fargo-Moorhead MSA	ND-MN	148.4	7.8	135
190	Waterloo-Cedar Falls MSA	IA	147.8	9.2	280
191	Steubenville-Weirton MSA	OH-WV	147.7	9.8	282
192	Richland-Kennewick-Pasco MSA	WA	146.4	1.3	219
193	Medford MSA	OR	145.9	10.1	104
194	Lynchburg MSA	VA	145.5	3.0	198
195	Tuscaloosa MSA	AL	145.4	5.7	165
196	Athens MSA	GA	144.7	11.3	88
197	Monroe MSA	LA	144.0	3.4	190
198	Anderson MSA	SC	143.1	7.4	141
199	Jamestown-Dunkirk MSA	NY	141.3	3.8	260
200	Redding MSA	CA	139.7	20.9	45
201	Battle Creek MSA	MI	139.2	1.7	243
202	Naples MSA	FL	138.5	61.1	1
203	Eau Claire MSA	WI	138.4	5.7	163
204	Alexandria MSA	LA	137.8	1.9	212
205	Janesville-Beloit MSA	WI	136.3	2.2	245
206	Greeley MSA	CO	136.2	10.3	98
207	Joplin MSA	MO	136.0	6.6	153
208	Florence MSA	AL	135.5	0.4	231
209	Decatur MSA	AL	132.7	10.2	100
210	Terre Haute MSA	IN	132.6	3.4	258
211	Altoona MSA	PA	132.5	3.0	253
212	Las Cruces MSA	NM	132.0	37.0	9
213	Anderson MSA	IN	131.8	5.4	270
214	Dothan MSA	AL	131.1	7.0	148
215	Burlington MSA	VT	129.1	12.0	83
216	Mansfield MSA	OH	129.0	1.6	242
217	Laredo MSA	TX	128.9	29.9	16
218	Pascagoula MSA	MS	128.1	8.6	127
219	Pueblo MSA	CO	127.6	1.3	217
220	Jacksonville MSA	NC	126.5	12.1	82
221	Panama City MSA	FL	125.5	28.4	21
222	Sioux Falls MSA	SD	125.5	14.7	70
223	Lafayette-West Lafayette MSA	IN	125.4	3.0	199
224	Bloomington-Normal MSA	IL	124.7	4.6	175
225	Odessa MSA	TX	124.7	8.1	130
226	Wichita Falls MSA	TX	124.6	2.9	200
227	Charlottesville MSA	VA	123.8	9.0	122
228	Decatur MSA	IL	123.7	5.9	274
229	Anniston MSA	AL	123.3	3.0	197
230	Sharon MSA	PA	122.4	4.6	264
231	Abilene MSA	TX	121.8	9.8	108
232	Muncie MSA	IN	120.1	6.6	276
233	Texarkana MSA	AR-TX	119.4	5.6	166
234	Lawton MSA	OK	119.3	6.1	159
235	Bellingham MSA	WA	118.7	11.2	91
236	Yuba City MSA	CA	118.4	16.1	62

Size Rank	MSA/CMSA	State(s)	Size (1,000s) 1988	Percent Growth 1980–88	Growth Rank
237	Williamsport MSA	PA	118.3	0.1	235
238	Florence MSA	SC	118.0	7.1	146
239	Hagerstown MSA	MD	117.8	4.1	181
240	Wilmington MSA	NC	117.3	13.4	76
241	Bryan-College Station MSA	TX	116.6	24.5	32
242	Billings MSA	MT	116.4	7.8	136
243	Albany MSA	GA	116.3	3.5	186
244	Glens Falls MSA	NY	116.1	5.9	161
245	State College MSA	PA	115.7	2.6	202
246	Sioux City MSA	IA-NE	115.7	1.5	241
247	Wausau MSA	WI	113.4	1.9	213
248	Santa Fe MSA	NM	112.5	20.8	47
249	Fayetteville-Springdale MSA	AR	110.6	10.1	102
250	Danville MSA	VA	108.1	3.3	257
251	Midland MSA	TX	107.3	29.8	17
252	Burlington MSA	NC	105.8	6.6	152
253	Columbia MSA	MO	105.8	5.4	167
254	Bloomington MSA	IN	103.1	4.3	179
255	Sheboygan MSA	WI	103.0	2.0	210
256	Gadsden MSA	AL	102.9	0.2	236
257	Cumberland MSA	MD-WV	102.4	5.0	257
258	Rochester MSA	MN	101.0	9.7	110
259	San Angelo MSA	TX	99.3	17.1	59
260	Kokomo MSA	IN	98.9	4.6	263
261	Fitchburg-Leominster MSA	MA	98.1	4.4	177
[illegible]	Kankakee MSA	IL	97.9	4.9	265
[illegible]	Sherman-Denison MSA	TX	97.9	9.1	120
[illegible]	La Crosse MSA	WI	95.5	4.9	173
265	Elmira MSA	NY	91.7	6.1	275
266	Dubuque MSA	IA	90.9	3.0	254
267	Pine Bluff MSA	AR	90.8	0.1	233
268	Owensboro MSA	KY	87.8	2.1	207
269	Lewiston-Auburn MSA	ME	87.0	2.5	204
270	Iowa City MSA	IA	86.7	6.1	158
271	Bismarck MSA	ND	85.8	7.2	143
272	St. Joseph MSA	MO	85.4	2.8	250
273	Bangor MSA	ME	84.8	1.1	221
274	Rapid City MSA	SD	82.0	16.6	61
275	Pittsfield MSA	MA	79.3	5.0	266
276	Jackson MSA	TN	78.2	5.0	171
277	Great Falls MSA	MT	78.2	3.1	255
278	Lawrence MSA	KS	76.5	13.1	77
279	Cheyenne MSA	WY	75.2	9.5	115
280	Victoria MSA	TX	74.3	7.9	134
281	Grand Forks MSA	ND	70.5	6.6	150
282	Casper MSA	WY	64.7	10.0	283
283	Enid MSA	OK	58.3	7.2	278

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Discussion Points

1. Discuss the patterns and timing of population growth in large metropolitan, small metropolitan, and nonmetropolitan areas since 1910.

2. What factors contributed to the slow-down of metropolitan area growth compared to nonmetropolitan areas during the 1970s? Highlight the contribution of international factors.

3. Why did metropolitan areas regain their growth momentum during the 1980s? Did all metropolitan areas participate? Explain.

4. Select a metropolitan area not discussed in this *Bulletin*. Describe its responses to the influences that affected population distribution during the 1970s and 1980s.

5. How did the experiences of the top 20 metropolitan areas between 1970 and 1988 reflect regional shifts in the country's population?

6. How would you expect factors that shaped metropolitan area growth or decline during the past 20 years to correlate with the life cycle changes and settlement patterns of the baby-boom generation?

7. Examine the effects of immigration on the racial/ethnic composition of metropolitan areas. Are all metropolitan areas equally affected?

8. Discuss the impact that actual and potential social, economic and political events worldwide (e.g. perestroika, the growing importance of the Pacific Rim, the debt crisis in Latin America) could have on metropolitan growth in the United States. Use specific metropolitan areas as examples.

Prepared by Kimberly A. Crews

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